

George Bull D.D.
Late Lord Bishop of S.t Davids.

Ob: 17 Feb: 1709/10 Æta. 76.

Qui Magna non modo Locutus Est ——
sed et Vixit ——



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THE LIFE OF Dr. GEORGE BULL,

Late Lord Bishop of St. DAVID's.

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THOSE CONTROVERSIES

In which he was Engaged:

AND AN

ABSTRACT of those FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES which he Maintained and Defended in the *Latin* Tongue.

By ROBERT NELSON, *Esq;*

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THE

THE LIFE OF Dr. *GEORGE BULL*,

Late Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s:

With the HISTORY of thoſe

CONTROVERSIES

In which he was Engaged;

AND THE

ABSTRACT of thoſe FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES which he Maintained and Defended in the *Latin* Tongue.

The INTRODUCTION.

The Occaſion of Writing this Life.

WHEN the Reverend Mr. *Robert Ball* propoſed to me the Publiſhing the following Sermons and other Diſcourſes, which his Father, the late Lord Biſhop of St. *David*'s, had ordered to be Printed after his Death; I thought my ſelf upon ſeveral Accounts obliged

to comply with his Requeſt, and therefore was too eaſily overcome by his Importunity: For I had maintained a long and intimate Friendſhip with his Lordſhip, which gave me an Opportunity of being acquainted with his ſolid and ſubſtantial Worth; I had frequently ſate at his Feet as he was a Preacher, and as often felt the force of thoſe diſtinguiſhing Talents which enabled him to ſhine in the Pulpit; But above all, I had preſerved a grateful Remembrance of thoſe Advantages which I had received from him in my Education, part whereof was committed to his Care and Direction.

An Apology for attempting it.

I am very ſenſible that this Engagement will carry me into a difficult Province, and it may be thought too preſumptuous for a Perſon no better qualified than my ſelf, to venture to ſpeak of ſo great a Prelate, ſo famous Abroad for his elaborate and judicious Writings, and ſo valued at Home for his unfeigned Piety and profound Learning. To thoſe that ſhall urge this I have nothing to reply, but that Friendſhip and Gratitude are not always governed by the moſt cautious Meaſures; that the deſire to do Juſtice to thoſe we love, frequently concealeth from us the danger of ſuch an Undertaking, and throws a Veil over thoſe Snares which hazard the Succeſs of the Performance. And therefore I hope the Senſe of Obligation, and the Zeal which I have for the Memory of ſo pious and learned a Friend,

which moved me to this Aſſurance in Writing, will ſerve ſomething for my Excuſe, and help to ſhelter me from that Cenſure which otherways I might juſtly deſerve.

His Reputation ſecured by his own Works.

It muſt be owned that the Lives of great and excellent Men require skilful and faithful Pens; that the Exactneſs and Truth of their Characters may be adorned with all Purity, Force and Propriety of Style; and that the Writer ſhould be animated with a Portion of that Genius which made the Perſon, he draws for the Knowledge and Imitation of Poſterity, famous in his Generation. But the Reputation of our Author hath received ſo great a Brightneſs from his own Pen, that it needs no auxiliary Light to encreaſe its Luſtre; and his Character is ſo ſecure from his own Works, the immortal Monuments of his true Worth, that I am the leſs concerned for my own Inability to embalm his Memory; eſpecially ſince I hope the Weight and Importance of the Matter, will make ſome amends for thoſe Defects that may ariſe from the manner of handling it. But beſides, if he had been ſilent in his Life-time, yet being Dead he ſtill ſpeaketh with ſo much clearneſs and ſtrength of Reaſon, with ſo maſterly a Knowledge in his own Profeſſion, the beſt of Studies, with ſuch an affecting *Pathos*, that impreſſeth it upon the Minds of others, and above all with ſuch an inward Senſe of Piety and Devotion, the true Chriſtian Unction, in thoſe Sermons and Diſcourſes

courſes which are now publiſhed, that the World would not have been at a loſs to have framed a juſt Idea of this conſummate Divine, if theſe Remains had been the only Works of his, which were to have been conveyed down to Poſterity.

Why it may be acceptable to learned and good Men.

I hope I may preſume that this Undertaking will not be altogether unacceptable to the Learned, becauſe it attempteth to gratify a Curioſity, which prevaileth much, and is nouriſhed among them; whereby they are prompted to ſearch for, and enquire after the minuteſt Circumſtances, that relate to ſuch Authors who are no otherways known to them, than by thoſe learned Works they have left behind them. And I promiſe my ſelf that good Men will not be Wanting in that Candour which is eſſential to their Character, and which inclineth them to be favourable to all Attempts of this Nature; becauſe they freely allow that it is but juſt that the Memory of the Servants of God ſhould be preſerved in the Church; not only that their Names may be mentioned with Honour, and that they may be had in everlaſting Remembrance; but that their Vertues may remain upon Record to provoke others to Love and good Works. For as it is eſteemed a piece of Reſpect to commit their Bodies to the Grave, with the Decency at leaſt, if not with the Pomp of a Funeral; and yet farther to perpetuate their Memories by the Magnificence of Monuments, and the Elo-

quence

quence of Inſcriptions, though all this ſerveth chiefly to cover the Frightfulneſs of Mortality; ſo the ſame Charity and Reſpect oblige us to ſet their vertuous and pious Actions in a clear Light, that we may diſcover the Beauty and Brightneſs of them, in order the better to reverence them, as well as to direct our own Steps. It being very reaſonable that we ſhould not be more ſolicitous to bury them with Honour, than we are to make them riſe in our ſelves by Remembrance and Imitation.

Reaſons for the Length of it.

What I apprehend will carry this Life to a greater Length, than I at firſt imagined, is the Hiſtory of thoſe important Controverſies, in which our learned Author was engaged; and the Abſtract of thoſe Fundamental Doctrines, which he hath with great Perſpicuity of Style and Matter, delivered in the Language of the Learned. The Particulars that relate to the firſt, certainly come in as a part of his Life; and the other was neceſſary to be attempted, that thoſe Readers whoſe Knowledge is confined to their own Language, might have a truer Notion of the Capacity and Genius of that reverend Prelate, whoſe Life I am about to write, and therefore I hope I have a juſt title to their pardon for the Length of it. And ſo beſeeching God to enable me to finiſh what I begin in his Name, and dedicate to his Honour and Glory; I ſhall proceed to the Subject I have undertaken.

I. DOCTOR *George Bull*, the late learned Biſhop of St. *David*'s, was born in the Pariſh of St *Cuthbert* at *Wells*, in the County of *Somerſet*, on the Twenty-fifth of *March* 1634, being the Feaſt of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin. So that the Place and Day where he firſt ſaw the Light were very remarkable: The one for being a Biſhop's Seat, and giving Title to the See, near Two hundred Years, before the denomination of *Bath* was added, and procured precedency in the Style; the other for being diſtinguiſhed among the greateſt Feſtivals in the Chriſtian Calendar, if we conſider it not only as inſtituted in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of our Lord, whom all Generations are to call *Bleſſed*, but as it related to the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Saviour of the World. And it ſo fell out by the Diſpoſition of Providence, that this learned Man lived to adorn both the Subjects of this Feſtival; the *latter* in his admirable Defence of the *Nicene* Faith, and the former in that excellent Sermon of the following Collection, which aſſerteth and vindicateth thoſe great Privileges and Excellencies, which were the bleſſed Virgin's peculiar Honour and Ornament.

When and where Mr. Bull was born.

His

His Deſcent was from an ancient Family of very good Note among the Gentry in *Somerſetſhire*, where they have a very handſome Seat, and a very fair and large Eſtate at *Shapwick* in the ſaid County. His Father, Mr. *George Bull*, was ſecond Son of *William Bull* Eſq; who had Ten Sons and Eight Daughters; ſo that by reaſon the Family was ſo numerous, he was bred to a Trade in *Wells*, and became a principal Member in that Corporation. The ſettling him in the World after this manner, was very much againſt his own deſire; which carried him towards a learned Education, which he deſigned the rather that he might become particularly ſerviceable to the Church of God; but the choice of his Parents determined him another way, in which he ſucceeded much better than they ordinarily do, who engage againſt the bent of their Inclinations. The direct Male Line of this ancient Family being now extinct, the Eſtate is devolved, upon Mrs. *Eleanor Doddington* ſole Heireſs of *Henry Bull* Eſq; of *Shapwick*, and Wife of *George Doddington* Eſq; who is Member of Parliament for the Burrough of *Bridgwater*, and was one of the late Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty. By this it appears that Mr. *Bull* was by extraction a Gentleman, an Advantage which he the leſs wanted, becauſe he was engaged in a Profeſſion, which is not only highly honourable in itſelf, but confereth greater Degrees of Honour

His Family and Parentage.

on thoſe who are the beſt born. And let the Family be never ſo conſpicuous, the Learning and Piety of any Branch of it, addeth more to its true Luſtre and Glory, than it is capable of giving by any Blood it can convey.

He was early dedicated to the Service of the Church.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here that Mr. *Bull* was dedicated to the Service of the Church, at the ſame time that he was made a Member of it; for his Father declared at the Font, that he intended him for Holy Orders. In which he was the more zealous, by reaſon of the Diſappointment he had met with himſelf from the fixt Reſolutions of his Parents, who would never comply with his earneſt and repeated Deſires of being made a Clergyman. But this good Man did not live to ſee his pious Deſign put in Execution; for dying when his Son *George* was but Four Years old, he could not have made one Step in that Education which was neceſſary to qualifie his Son for the Service of the Altar. I venture to call him a good Man, becauſe the Memory that is ſtill preſerved of him, repreſenteth him as a Perſon that was very conſcientious in his Dealings, and very pious towards God; and when he left off his Trade, which he was never well pleaſed with, becauſe it diverted him from Holy Orders, which he chiefly coveted, he gave conſiderable Charities to the Poor; and after having been twice Mayor of the City of *Wells*, became a Benefactor to the Corporation. But though his Father left ſeveral

veral Daughters, yet *George* was his only Son, who was committed to the Care and Tuition of Guardians by his Father's Laſt Will, with an Eſtate of 200 *l. per Annum*, which had a Rent-Charge upon it of near 50 *l.* a Year, payable to his Father's Widow, who was his Mother-in-Law; for his own Mother dyed ſoon after he was born. Thus by the Providence of God, and the Care of a good Parent, he was enabled to ſupport the Charge of a liberal Education, which many famous Men have obtained with great Difficulty, and not without the Aſſiſtance of Perſons charitably diſpoſed; and what good Uſe he made of ſuch an Advantage, we may be inſtructed from the enſuing Paſſages of his Life.

II. *Educated at Tiverton School in Devonſhire.*

When he was fit to receive the firſt Rudiments of Learning he was placed in a Grammar-School at *Wells*, where he continued not long; but by the Care of his Guardians was to great Advantage removed to the Free School of *Tiverton* in *Devonſhire*, of the greateſt Note of any in the *Weſt* of *England*. This School was Founded by Mr. *Peter Blundel*, a *Clothier*, in the Year 1604, with a very good Maintenance for a School-Maſter and Uſher, and is not more conſiderable for its liberal Endowment, than it is for its ſtately and noble Structure. There are 150 of the Foundation, and if that Number cannot be ſupplied from the Town and Pariſh of *Tiverton* itſelf, which ſeldom furniſheth

furniſheth above half ſo many, then the adjacent Places have the Advantage of providing the reſt; for the Scholars generally rather exceed than fall ſhort of the preſcribed Complement. It hath the Privilege of ſending two Fellows and two Scholars to *Baliol* College in *Oxford*, and the ſame Number of both to *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*, which are choſe here, and incorporated afterwards into the reſpective Societies in the Univerſities. An Encouragement wiſely contrived to preſerve the School in Honour and Reputation, and Experience confirmeth the Obſervation; for it not only flouriſheth at preſent, but hath made the moſt conſiderable Figure of any in that part of the Nation ever ſince its firſt Foundation.

An Account and Character of his Maſter.

Mr. *Samuel Butler*, the Maſter under whom Mr. *Bull* was educated, was very eminent in his Profeſſion, an excellent Grammarian both for *Latin* and *Greek*, diligent in his Office, and vigilant in his Care and Obſervation of his Scholars. He was recommended to this Poſt by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, who by the Will of the Founder was conſtituted the Chief Director of every thing which related to this Free School; and he was ſo conſiderable in his Employment, that when he removed to *Tiverton*, he brought ſeveral Gentlemens Sons with him; ſo that he had Scholars from many parts of the Kingdom, and bred ſeveral Perſons, conſiderable for their Learning, during the long time

time he continued Maſter, which was above Six and thirty Years.

Mr. *Bull*, by his great Diligence, and by a remarkable Pregnancy of Parts, made a very conſiderable Progreſs in all Claſſical Learning, under a Perſon who was ſo able, and ſo willing to inſtruct him. And it was the uſual Method of this Maſter, when he gave his Boys Themes for Verſes, to preſs them to exert themſelves and to do their Beſt, becauſe he judged how far each Boy's Capacity would carry him; but he always told *George Bull*, that he expected from him Verſes like thoſe of *Ovid*; becauſe, ſaith he, I know you can do it. Sufficiently thereby intimating that his Scholar had a Capacity and Genius which enabled him to excel in ſuch Exerciſes. And we may very well ſuppoſe that the Maſter took no ſmall Pains in cultivating ſuch a good Soil, and that the Scholar was not leſs obſervant of the Rules and Directions which were propoſed to him by ſo able an Inſtructor; when we are aſſured that Mr. *Bull* was every ways fit for the Univerſity before he attained the Fourteenth Year of his Age.

His great and early Progreſs in Claſſick Learning.

III. *Removed to Exeter College in Oxford.*

Thus young was Mr. *Bull* removed from the Free School of *Tiverton* to *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, where he was entered a Commoner the Tenth Day of *July*, 1648. Here he was placed under the Care of Mr. *Baldwin Ackland* who was his Tutor, and very conſiderable for his

his Learning and Piety, zealous for his Sovereign, when ſo many of his Subjects and Friends forſook him, and true to the Intereſt of the Church in her moſt afflicted Circumſtances. Yet notwithſtanding that he was under the Direction of ſo zealous and orthodox a Divine, it muſt not be concealed that Mr. *Bull* loſt much of the time he ſpent at the Univerſity, and he frequently mentioned it himſelf with great Sorrow and Regret; though he did not, as it is too uſual, impute this Misfortune of his Life to any Remiſneſs in the Government of the Place, or to any Negligence in his Tutor, but to the great Rawneſs and Inexperience of his Age. For being tranſplanted very Young from the ſtrict Diſcipline of a School to the Enjoyment of manly Liberty, before he had Conſideration enough to make uſe of it to the beſt Purpoſes; he was overpowered by that Love of Pleaſure and Diverſion, which ſo eaſily captivate Youth when it is not upon the Guard. But as the Freedoms he took were chiefly childiſh Follies, ſo when he proſecuted them with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, he ſtill gave ſufficient Evidence of an extraordinary Genius, and by the Help of his Logical Rules which he made himſelf Maſter of with little Labour, and his cloſe way of maintaining his Argument, which was natural to him, he quickly got the Reputation of a ſmart Diſputant, and as ſuch was taken notice of by his Superiors.

There

There were two great Men at that time who had a particular Regard for him, the one was Dr. *Conant* the Rector of the College, who encouraged Learning during his Government, and gave an Example of Piety to thoſe under his Care. It is true that he was one of the Commiſſioners on the *Presbyterian* ſide at the Conference in the *Savoy*, and that he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Act of Conformity in 1662, but afterwards, upon better Thoughts, he complied, and became Miniſter of *Northampton*, was made Archdeacon of *Norwich*, and inſtalled Prebendary of *Worceſter*, and dyed poſſeſſed of theſe Preferments, and a worthy Member of the Church of *England* in a good old Age, in *March*, 1693. The other was that great Prelate Biſhop *Prideaux*, who by his learned Works was famous Abroad as well as in his own Country, which with his ſteady Loyalty to his Sovereign, made him worthy of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, which was conferred upon him in 1641, though by the Confuſions of thoſe times he reaped little or no Advantage from it; for he dyed in mean Circumſtances in *September*, 1650, and left no Legacy to his Children but pious Poverty, God's Bleſſing, and a Father's Prayers, as he expreſſeth it himſelf in his Laſt Will. This learned Biſhop, in thoſe times of Perſecution, fled for Sanctuary in or near that College which he had formerly governed as Rector with great Applauſe. Both theſe conſiderable Perſons took more Notice than ordinary of

Taken notice of by two great Men.

Mr.

Mr. *Bull*; they would frequently call upon him to mind his Studies, and took all Occaſions to encourage him in the Proſecution of them; and their Advice he would often own made very deep Impreſſions upon him. Which ſheweth of what Conſequence it is for Men of Figure and Authority to cultivate thoſe tender Minds that are under their Government, by animadverting ſometimes upon their Faults, and when there is Occaſion by exciting their Induſtry with juſt Commendations, and proper Encouragements.

Acquainted with Mr. Clifford, *afterwards Lord High Treaſurer.*

While Mr. *Bull* reſided in *Exeter* College he ſat at the ſame Table, and contracted a particular Acquaintance with Mr. *Clifford*, who afterwards came by ſeveral gradual Promotions to enjoy the greateſt Poſt in this Kingdom: For after he had ſerved in ſeveral Parliaments, and had been preſent in ſeveral Engagements at Sea, in the War againſt the *Dutch*, and had been employed Abroad in ſeveral Embaſſies; and in all thoſe Poſts having given great Proofs of his Courage and Capacity, and Skill in Buſineſs, he was firſt made Comptroler and afterwards Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and for ſome time, during the Earl of *Arlington*'s Abſence in *Holland*, executed the Office of Secretary of State; in 1672. he was created Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh* in *Devonſhire*, and in the ſame Year made Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, which white Staff

he

he reſigned in *June* the Year following, being not willing, as it was ſaid, to qualifie himſelf according to the Teſt Act. But this Greatneſs of Mr. *Bull*'s Friend was attended with no Advancement to his Fellow Collegiate; though I am informed his Lordſhip did make ſome Attempts to procure Mr. *Bull* Preferment; and ſolicited my Lord Keeper *Bridgman* particularly for a Prebend of *Gloceſter*; but it is poſſible that my Lord's Reign of Favour being ſhort, he might retire from his great Employments before there hapned any Vacancy in that Church; beſides, Mr. *Bull* living at a Diſtance from Court, and not underſtanding the Art of Intriguing for Preferment, might eaſily be forgot by a great Man, who never wanted ſuch in his Eye that made Intereſt for his Favour.

IV. *He retires from* Oxford *upon refuſing the* Engagement.

Mr. *Bull* had not been admitted two Years in *Exeter* College before the *Engagement* was impoſed upon the Nation by a pretended Act of Parliament, which paſſed in *January*, 1649. The Kingly Office being aboliſhed upon the Murther of an excellent Prince, it was declared, that for the time to come *England* ſhould be governed as a Commonwealth by Parliament; that was, by that handful of Men who by their Art and Power, and Villany, had wrought that wonderful Alteration. And that they might ſecure their new Government, and have ſome Obligations of Obedience from their Subjects

Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, as is obſerved by a noble Author, this new Oath was prepared and eſtabliſhed; the Form whereof was that every Man ſhould ſwear, *That he would be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of* England, *as it was* then *Eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.* And whoſoever refuſed to take that Engagement, was to be incapable of holding any Place or Office in Church or State; and they who had no Employments to loſe, were to be deprived of the Benefit of the Law, and diſabled from ſuing in any Court. There was great Zeal ſhewn in ſeveral Places to procure this Acknowlegment and Submiſſion from the People to this New Government; particularly all the Members of the Univerſity were ſummoned to appear, and ſolemnly to own the Right and Title of the Commonwealth to their Allegiance. Our young Student appeared upon this Occaſion, and ſignalized himſelf by refuſing to take the Oath. The ſeveral Hypotheſes that were then ſtarted to make Men eaſy under a Change of Government, which was directly contrary to the National Conſtitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the Argument of Providence, nor preſent Poſſeſſion, nor the Advantages of Protection, which were all pleaded in thoſe Times, were ſtrong enough to influence a Mind that was early determined to be conſtant in his Duty towards the Church and the King.

It

It muſt be owned that it was a great Happineſs to Mr. *Bull*, that his Tutor Mr. *Ackland* ſet him an Example of this ſteddy Loyalty; for then Precepts operate to the beſt Purpoſe, when we ſtrengthen them by our own Practice. But beſides Mr. *Bull* had this farther Advantage from Mr. *Ackland*'s refuſing the Engagement, that they retired together from the Univerſity to *North-Cadbury* in *Somerſetſhire*, whither alſo many other of his Pupils, who were deſirous to continue under the Conduct of ſo good and ſo able a Man, quickly followed; where they purſued their Studies without Diſtraction; and found that Quiet in a Village, which they had in vain ſought for in a College. It is not certain how long he continued with his Tutor in this Retirement, but by the beſt Judgment that can be made, in a Fact at ſuch a Diſtance, it is highly probable they did not part till Mr. *Bull* had attained the Nineteenth Year of his Age; and ſo conſequently that he then laid that Foundation of Learning, which is neceſſary as a Preliminary to any particular learned Profeſſion, and upon which he built his future Studies in Divinity.

He goes with his Tutor Mr. Ackland *to* North-Cadbury.

And what was yet of greater Importance, by this Retreat into his own Country, he had frequent Converſe with one of his Siſters, a Woman of incomparable Parts, and of ſolid Piety, whoſe good Senſe exerciſed itſelf chiefly upon the beſt Objects; for ſhe made Reli-

He was influenced to great Seriouſneſs by a Siſter.

gion her great Care and Employment. It was this Woman that the Providence of God made inſtrumental in reducing Mr. *Bull* entirely from his youthful Vanities; for by the Strength of her Reaſon ſhe expoſed the Folly and Emptineſs of them: by the frequency of her Admonitions ſhe prevailed upon him to conſider the weight of what ſhe urged; and by the tender and affectionate manner with which all her Diſcourſes were tinctured, ſhe made deep Impreſſions upon his Mind; but above all, by the Ardency and Fervour of her Prayers, ſhe prevailed for ſuch a Supply of Divine Grace as enabled him to forſake them. This ſubſtantial Proof of Friendſhip he always remembred with great Gratitude to God and his Siſter; and that Seriouſneſs of Mind which Heaven by her means beſtowed upon him, had an admirable Effect upon his Studies, which he now proſecuted with ſuch Earneſtneſs, as rendered him afterwards ſo uſeful and ſo famous in the World.

V. His Application and Induſtry began now to be conſpicuous, and having no Thoughts of returning to the Univerſity, the State and Condition thereof being at that time no ways inviting; he was adviſed by his Guardians and other Relations to put himſelf under the Conduct of ſome Eminent Divine, whoſe Knowledge and Skill might ſteer him right in his Theological Studies, which he purpoſed to proſecute,

He puts himſelf under the Conduct of an eminent Divine.

proſecute, and whoſe pious Example might ſeaſon his Mind with all thoſe Chriſtian Vertues, which are requiſite not only for the Government of a private Life, but are alſo neceſſary to diſcharge the Duties of that Sacred Function in which he deſigned to engage.

The Advantage of Seminaries for the Candidates of Holy Orders.

And upon this Occaſion I cannot help wiſhing, from the hearty Affection and good Will I bear to the Welfare of Religon in general, and to the Proſperity of the Church of *England* in particular; that as we have noble Foundations for the Encouragement of all ſorts of Learning, and eſpecially for Divinity itſelf, in our Two famous Univerſities, which are the Wonder of the World for the Number of their Colleges, their ſtately Structures and liberal Endowments; ſo that we had alſo ſome of theſe Foundations entirely ſet apart for the forming of ſuch as are Candidates for Holy Orders; where they might be fully inſtructed in all that Knowledge which that Holy Inſtitution requires, and in all thoſe Duties which are peculiarly incumbent upon a Parochial Prieſt. Where Lectures might be daily read, which in a certain Courſe of Time ſhould include a perfect Scheme of Divinity; where all particular Caſes of Conſcience might be clearly ſtated, and ſuch general Rules laid down, as might be able to aſſiſt them in giving ſatisfaction to all thoſe that repair to them for Advice in difficult Matters. Where they might receive right Notions of all thoſe Spiritual

Rights which are appropriated to the Prieſthood, and which are not in the Power of the greateſt ſecular Perſon either to convey or aboliſh; and yet are of ſuch great Importance, that ſome of them are not only neceſſary to the well-being but to the very Being of the Church. Where they might be taught to perform all the Publick Offices of Religion with a becoming Gravity and Devotion, and with all that Advantage of Elocution, which is apteſt to ſecure Attention, and beget devout Affections in the Congregation. Where they might particularly be directed, how to receive clinical Confeſſions, how to make their Applications to Perſons in Times of Sickneſs, and have ſuch a Method formed to guide their Addreſſes of that Nature, that they might never be at a Loſs when they are called upon to aſſiſt ſick and dying Perſons. Where they might be inſtructed in the Art of Preaching; whereby I mean not only the beſt Method in compoſing their Sermons, but all thoſe decent Geſtures and graceful Deportment, the Influence whereof all Hearers can eaſier feel than expreſs. And where they might have ſuch judicious Rules given them for proſecuting their Theological Studies as would be of great Uſe to them in their future Conduct. But above all, where they might be formed by conſtant Practice, and by the Example of their Superiors, to Piety and Devotion, to Humility and Charity, to Mortification and Self-denial, to Contented-

neſs

neſs and Submiſſion to the Will of God in all Conditions of human Life; and more eſpecially excited to great Zeal in promoting the Salvation of Souls, which is the true Spring of all that Induſtry and Application which is required in the Clerical Function.

The Fruit to be reaped from them.

It would be a mighty Satisfaction to the Governours of the Church, to Ordain Perſons who had paſſed ſome time in ſuch Seminaries with the Approbation of their Superiors. It would be no ſmall Comfort to the Candidates themſelves to be ſo qualified by the Purity of their Intentions, and by their perſonal Endowments, as to find themſelves able to Anſwer with a good Conſcience that important Demand in Ordination, *Whether they truſt they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt to take upon them that Office and Miniſtration?* And it would certainly be a great Bleſſing to the Nation, to have ſuch Labourers ſent into the Vineyard of the Lord, as had been wrought up by particular Application and Study to that Purpoſe. That Man knoweth but little of the Dignity and Importance of the Prieſthood, that can content himſelf with ordinary Attainments for the Diſcharge of ſo great and ſo ſacred a Truſt; and yet he will find himſelf very much deceived, if he dependeth upon the greateſt Perfection of human Knowledge, without conſtant and fervent Prayer to God for his Grace to enable him to make a right Uſe of it. This is neceſſary to ſanctifie his Learning,

though it be of never so prodigious a Size; by keeping him within the Bounds of Humility, and by rendring him serviceable to those who are committed to his Charge. But to proceed.

He is put under the Direction of Mr. Thomas.

The Times being very distracted when Mr. *Bull* was advised, as I said, to put himself under the Direction of some eminent Divine; his Guardians and Relations were very much divided in their Opinions, as to the Choice of the Person under whose Care he was to be placed. His Uncle *William Bull*, Esq; of *Shapwick*, and some others, inclined to Dr. *Hammond*, a most eminent Episcopal Divine, whose Name will always be mentioned with Honour and Respect by those, who are true Friends to the Church of *England*; for he adhered to her when her Condition was most deplorable, defended her Doctrines and Discipline by his learned and judicious Pen, and adorned them by a Conversation strictly vertuous and pious. But they prevailed who proposed Mr. *William Thomas* Rector of *Uhley* in the County of *Somerset*, to which Preferment he was advanced by the free and unsolicited Bounty of *Thomas Egerton* Baron of *Ellesmere*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. This Mr. *Thomas* was then in great Reputation for his Piety, and esteemed one of the chief Ministers of his time in the Neighbourhood where he lived; he was always reckoned a Puritan, and closed with the Presbyterian Measures in 1642, and was appointed an Assistant to the Commissioners of *Oliver*

Cromwell, for the ejecting ſuch whom they then called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and School-Maſters; he lived to be ejected himſelf for Non-Conformity, though he dyed among his Pariſhioners in 1667. Mr. *Ball* complyed with the Determination of his Guardians, and put himſelf under the Direction of Mr. *Thomas*, in whoſe Houſe he boarded with ſome of his own Sifters for the ſpace of two Years; where he had the Advantage indeed of living in a very regular Family, but he received little or no real Improvement or Aſſiſtance from him in his Study of Divinity, and would often lament his great Misfortune in that Choice.

He contracts a Friendſhip with Mr. Thomas's Son, which was very advantageous to him.

However it muſt be owned, that there was one Circumſtance that made Mr. *Ball* ſome Amends for the Time he loſt under this Director, which was, the Opportunity he had by this means of contracting an intimate Acquaintance with Mr. *Samuel Thomas* the Son of Mr. *William Thomas*; a Perſon of a very valuable Character for his Piety and Learning, who was afterwards Chaplain at *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, Vicar of *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*, and Prebendary of *Wells*. The Friendſhip now begun, was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind Offices, and when they were at a diſtance it was ſupported by a frequent Correſpondence. Before this Acquaintance with Mr. *Samuel Thomas*, Mr. *Ball* had ſpent his Time entirely in reading little Syſtems of

Divinity, and had arrived at ſo great a Perfection in that Method of Study, and was particularly ſo thoroughly verſed in *Wollebius*, that he was Maſter of all thoſe Objections and Solutions, which ſo frequently occur in thoſe Writings. But his Judgment being now come to a greater Ripeneſs, he grew more and more out of conceit with that ſort of Divinity, and applied himſelf to the reading of other Books, ſuch as he reliſhed better, and were more adapted to his Genius, ſuch as *Hooker*, *Hammond*, *Taylor*, *Grotius*, *Epiſcopius*, &c. with which his Friend, Mr. *Samuel Thomas*, was ready to ſupply him, though at the hazard of his Father's Diſpleaſure; for the old Man had a watchful Eye over Mr. *Bull*, and never found any of theſe Books in his Study, without giving viſible Marks of his Anger and Reſentment: For being well acquainted with his Son's Principles, and with the intimate Correſpondence there was between them, he eaſily gueſſed from what Quarter he was provided with ſo much Heterodoxy, and would often ſay, *My Son will corrupt Mr.* Bull. Thus it pleaſed the good Providence of God to correct the Diſadvantages of his Education, and by a favourable Circumſtance to ſtrike ſuch Light into his Mind, as preſerved him from the bad Principles of thoſe Times, and directed his Underſtanding in diſtinguiſhing Truths of very great Importance.

Soon

Soon after that he left Mr. *Thomas*, he entertained Thoughts of going into Holy Orders; he had read enough to convince him, that meer Presbyters had no Power to give him a Commiſſion to exerciſe the Sacred Function, eſpecially when the plauſible Plea of Neceſſity could not be urged; which yet very ſeldom hath any great Strength in it; becauſe when poſitive Inſtitutions cannot be had whole and entire as God hath ordained them, with ſubmiſſion I ſpeak it, I think they ceaſe to be neceſſary. In this Caſe Mr. *Bull* ſought out for an unexceptionable Hand, that his Miſſion might be valid, according to the Practice of the Chriſtian Church for Fifteen hundred Years, which affordeth not one Inſtance of Presbyterian Ordination, but what was condemned by the univerſal Voice of the Catholick Church. And being thus ſatisfied from whence he was to receive his Spiritual Powers, he applied himſelf to Dr. *Skinner*, the ejected Biſhop of *Oxford*, by whom he was Ordained Deacon and Prieſt in one Day. This ſuffering Prelate had the Courage, even in thoſe Times of Uſurpation, to ſend many Labourers into the Lord's Vineyard, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, when the exerciſing this his Power was made Penal. He lived indeed to be reſtored to his See, from whence he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* in 1663, and died full of

VI. *He enters into Holy Orders.*

Years

Years in 1670. He had been Tutor to the famous Mr. *William Chillingworth*, the Author of *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way of Salvation*, &c. and was One of thoſe Twelve Biſhops that ſubſcribed in 41, a Proteſtation againſt the Force that was uſed to their Perſons in attending the Houſe, and againſt the immoderate Proceedings of the Parliament in their abſence; for which they were impeached of High-Treaſon, and committed Priſoners to the Tower, where they remained till the Bill for putting them out of the Houſe was paſſed, which was not till many Months after. His Lordſhip, though he was willing to Ordain Mr. *Bull*, yet refuſed to give him or any others, Letters of Orders under his own Hand and Seal, for this prudential Reaſon; becauſe he was apprehenſive ſome ill Uſe might be made of them, if they fell into the Hands of thoſe unjuſt Powers which then prevailed; who had made it Criminal for a Biſhop to confer Holy Orders; but withal he aſſured him, that when the ancient Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be reſtored, which he did not queſtion but a little time would bring about, his Letters of Orders ſhould be ſent him, in what Part ſoever of the Nation he then lived, however it ſhould pleaſe God to diſpoſe of his Lordſhip; which was accordingly punctually complied with, upon the happy Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second.

By

By this Account it appeareth, that Mr. *Bull* was but One and twenty when he was made Prieſt, which is much ſhort of that Age which is required by the Canons of the Church from the Candidates of the Prieſthood; but upon his Examination, he acquitted himſelf ſo perfectly well, that though the Biſhop was rightly informed as to that Circumſtance, yet he was pleaſed to ſay, that the Church wanted Perſons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haſte, when his Pains and Labour might be of ſuch Importance; that as to the Canons they could not be obſerved ſtrictly in ſuch Times of Difficulty and Diſtreſs, and that he did diſpenſe with his want of Canonical Age as much as in him lay. And it is not to be wondered at, conſidering the melancholy Circumſtances the Church was then in, that his Lordſhip received with open Arms a Candidate, who was ſo well diſpoſed and qualified to maintain and defend Her Doctrines and Diſcipline, and had nothing but his Youth to be objected againſt him.

He was but One and twenty when Ordained.

I think it may be fairly inferred from this early Dedication of himſelf to the Service of the Altar, in a Time when Rebellion and Sacrilege rid Triumphant, that in his Youth and Flower of his Days, he had a true Reliſh for Piety, and a Zeal for the Salvation of Souls. The Church of *England*, which is, and that juſtly, the Glory of the Reformation, was then laid in the Duſt; She was ruined under a pretence

This Forwardneſs in ſuch Times, an Argument of his Zeal.

pretence of being made more pure and more perfect. Episcopacy, a divine Institution, and therefore in no Case to be deviated from, was abolished as Anti-Christian; our admirable Liturgy was laid aside as defiled with the Corruptions and Innovations of Popery; and the Revenues which the Piety of our Ancestors had established for the Maintenance of our Spiritual Fathers, were ravenously seized on by sacrilegious Lay-men, and alienated to support the Usurpation. These discouraging Circumstances did not damp the Zeal of this Servant of God, but he engaged in the Service of the Church when the Arguments from Flesh and Blood were least inviting; when Men propose the Glory of God and the Good of Souls as the chief Motive in the choice of their sacred Profession: As they want not the Prospect of Riches and Grandeur to invite them to undertake it, neither are they terrified with those Difficulties that lie in the way of such an important Service. The Pilot is then most necessary, when the Ship is exposed to be driven on Rocks and Sands; and not to shrink from the Exercise of his Skill upon such Occasions, distinguisheth his Courage and Resolution, as well as his Zeal, to save those who are in the same Bottom with himself.

VII.

He settles at St. George's near Bristol.

When he was furnished with those Sacerdotal Powers, which are the Characteristick of a Presbyter, he embraced the first Opportunity

tunity the Providence of God offered for the exerciſing of them according to his Commiſſion. A ſmall Living near *Briſtol*, called St. *George*'s, preſenting itſelf, he the rather accepted it, becauſe the Income was very inconſiderable; it being very likely, that upon that account he would be ſuffered to reſide without Diſturbance from the Men of thoſe Times, who would not think it worth their pains to perſecute and diſpoſſeſs him for 30 *l.* a Year. Before he ſettled at this Place, he met by accident with one of his Godfathers, Mr. *Hall* a Clergyman, who acquainted him with the Declaration his Father had made when he was Baptized, which gave him no ſmall Pleaſure and Satisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the Intention of his Father from the bent of his own Inclination and free Choice, without having ever till that time received the leaſt intimation concerning it. When he came to fix at St. *George*'s, he found the Pariſh to abound with Quakers and other wild Sectaries who held very extravagant Opinions, which the People there and in the adjacent Parts were very ready to run into; but by his conſtant Preaching twice every Lord's Day, by his ſound Doctrine and exemplary Life, by his great Charities, for he expended more Annually in relieving the Poor of all ſorts than the whole Income of his Living amounted to, and by his prudent Behaviour he gained very much upon the Affections of his Pariſhioners, and

was

was very inſtrumental in preſerving many, and reclaiming others, from thoſe pernicious Errors which then were common among them.

A little Accident, which contributed to his Reputation.

There was a petty Occurrence which happened a little after he came to this Living, which contributed very much to the eſtabliſhing his Reputation as a *Preacher*, in ſo diſaffected a Place as this was; and ſince oftentimes from very little ſeeming Accidents, ſuch as this, there have been, as is known to every ones Obſervation, moſt conſiderable Effects wrought out; it is hoped hence that the notice of it will not be thought altogether unuſeful, or be unacceptable for appearing at firſt trivial. Now the matter was this: One Sunday when he had begun his Sermon, as he was turning over his Bible to explain ſome Texts of Scripture which he had quoted, it hapned unfortunately (as it was thought) that his Notes, contained in ſeveral ſmall pieces of Paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the Church; by which means there was inſtantly raiſed a Laughter in many of his Congregation, conſiſting chiefly of wild Sea-faring Perſons: Theſe concluding that their young Preacher would now, for want of his Materials, be intirely at a non-plus, were not a little pleaſed; and prepared themſelves hereupon to ſport at him with an Air of Contempt, not conſidering him as the Miniſter of Chriſt to them in the weakneſs of Fleſh; but ſome were ſober, or better natured

natured than the reſt, condemning the Levity of thoſe Scoffers, with great Concern gathered them up and carried them to him in his Pulpit. Mr. *Bull* took them, but perceiving moſt of the Company there preſent to be rather inclined to triumph over him in that ſurpriſe, and to inſult his Youth, which ſtood in need of ſuch Props, immediately clapped his Notes into his Book again and ſhut it, not without a great Preſence of Mind, and then gave himſelf the liberty of Diſcourſing to them on the ſpot, proſecuting the Subject which he had begun; which he performed ſo very much to their Satisfaction, that they who at firſt were moſt inclined to laugh at him, began to grow ſerious; and from deſpiſing him, were at length ſo affected with his Diſcourſe, that this mightily advanced his Reputation for the future among them, and ſecured him the good Will and Eſteem of thoſe very Perſons who had been ſo forward to divert themſelves at that, which they apprehended would have expoſed him to be a common Deriſion.

He is diſturbed in his Sermon by a Quaker.

For another time, while he was preaching, a certain Ranter, or Quaker, came into the Church and made a diſturbance in the midſt of his Sermon, crying out aloud, *George, come down, thou art a falſe Prophet and an Hireling*; upon which the Pariſhioners, who were for the moſt part Seamen, and who loved their Miniſter exceedingly, for his great Bounty and Hoſpitality among

among them, as well as for his good Preaching, fell upon this poor Quaker with ſuch fury, as obliged Mr. *Bull* to come down out of the Pulpit to quiet them, and to ſave him from the Effects of their Reſentment: So getting in among them and warding off the blows that were falling very heavy upon the Fellow, he ſaid to them, "Come, Neighbours, "be not ſo violent againſt the poor Man, but "ſpare him; you do not know what Spirit he "is acted by, you cannot tell but that it may "be Phrenſy in him or ſome other Diſtemper, "and if ſo, the Man is certainly an Object of "your Pity and Care; however, let me pre-"vail upon you to forbear, and hurt him not; "but let me, good Neighbours, a little argue "cooly the Matter with him." After this manner reaſoning with them, they were ſomewhat pacified, and were content to leave him to Mr. *Bull*'s Management, and to hear whether he was able to ſay any thing in Juſtification or Excuſe of what he had done: So Mr. *Bull* turned himſelf to the Man, and addreſſed himſelf to him after this manner. "Friend, "thou doſt call me *a falſe Prophet* and an "*Hireling*. Now as to thy firſt Charge, *Pro-*"*phecy* doth generally mean either *preaching* "and Interpreting God's Word, or elſe *fore-*"*telling* things to come. And ſo a Prophet, ei-"ther true or falſe, is underſtood in Scripture. "Wherefore if thou doſt mean I am a Prophet "in the firſt of theſe two Senſes, I readily acknow-

" acknowledge that I am ſo, and a *true* one
" alſo I hope, foraſmuch as in all Truth and
" Sincerity, I have now for ſome time Preach-
" ed among this good People what I could
" learn to be agreeable to the Doctrine of
" Chriſt and his Apoſtles, not failing to inter-
" pret to them the Mind of God in the Scri-
" ptures, without any other End, but to bring
" them to the Knowledge of the Truth, and
" thereby to the Attainment of Life everlaſt-
" ing. But, Friend, if thou doſt call me a
" Prophet, and a falſe Prophet, from my
" *foretelling* things to come, I then appeal to
" my Pariſhioners here preſent, whether I
" ever once pretended to this manner of Pro-
" phecy either in my Sermons or in my Diſ-
" courſes with them. And ſo in this Senſe
" I can be no falſe Prophet, having never
" deceived any one by Pretences of this Na-
" ture. And as to the other Charge againſt
" me, that I am an *Hireling*, I appeal again
" to theſe here preſent and that know me,
" whether they can ſay that I have Preached
" among them for the ſake of Gain or *filthy*
" *Lucre*, and whether I have not on the con-
" trary been ready on all Occaſions to ſerve
" and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of my Power,
" and to communicate as freely as I receive."
Upon which the People, being touched with a Senſe of Gratitude to this Miniſter of God for his extraordinary Kindneſs and conſtant Bounty towards them, but not mindful e-

nough of that Sacred Regard which was due to the *Place* where they were met, and to the *Occaſion* which brought them together, perceiving the ſilly Enthuſiaſt at a perfect non-plus, and not able to ſpeak a word of Senſe in his own Defence; fell upon him a ſecond time with ſuch Violence, that had not Mr. *Bull* buſtled very much among them, and by great Intreaties prevailed upon them to ſpare him, and to lead and ſhut him out of the Church; they would have worried him upon the ſpot. After which Mr. *Bull* went up again into his Pulpit and finiſhed his Sermon.

VIII. *The Method he took in Governing his Pariſh.*

Beſides the ordinary Duties of his Function, which he conſtantly performed, the Method he took in Governing this Pariſh, contributed very much to the welfare of the People committed to his Charge, and anſwered extremely the Ends of his Miniſtry. He did not content himſelf only with Preaching to his Flock on Sundays, and with going to the Sick, when their languiſhing Condition required Spiritual Comfort and Aſſiſtance; but he viſited all his Pariſhioners, Rich and Poor, without Diſtinction, at their own Houſes in a certain Compaſs of Time; not to gratifie their civil Invitations, or his own Diverſion, but to be ſerviceable to them in Matters of the greateſt Importance, the Salvation of their Souls. And therefore upon theſe Occaſions the Time was not trifled away in empty Talk,

but

but his Diſcourſe was ſuited to the ſeveral Exigencies of thoſe he converſed with. Where he found People neglected in their Education, and ignorant in the Fundamentals of Religion, thoſe he inſtructed by explaining to them what was neceſſary to be Believed and Practiſed in order to their Salvation. Where the Ground was over-run with Weeds, and ſome good Principles were blended with falſe Doctrines and pernicious Errors, there he diſcovered the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch Tenents, and ſhewed how inconſiſtent they were with the Holy Scriptures, and the Belief of all Orthodox Chriſtians. Where he perceived that Men laid all the Streſs upon a right Faith, and, provided they ſecured that Part of their Duty, were too apt to indulge themſelves in ſome Unchriſtian Practices; thoſe he admoniſhed with all that freedom, which becometh a faithful Paſtor, aſſuring them, that *without Holineſs no Man ſhall ſee the Lord.* Thoſe who laboured under any Affliction, received from him Advice and Comfort, and were inſtructed how to bear them, and how to make a right Uſe of them. Thoſe who were Oppreſſed with any Doubts and Scruples in their Chriſtian Courſe had proper Remedies applied to reſolve them, and to free the Perſons from that Unquietneſs which poſſeſſed them. Where the pleaſant Path of Vertue was ſteadily purſued, thoſe were exhorted to perſevere and hold out to the end, becauſe in due time they

ſhould reap, if they fainted not. But where Vice and Wickedneſs were become habitual, thoſe were ſharply rebuked in order to reclaim them from thoſe Sins which would infallibly be their ruin, without a ſpeedy and hearty Repentance. By theſe means he became acquainted with the State of their Souls, and was thereby the better enabled to ſuit his Diſcourſes in publick to the ſeveral Wants and Grievances of his People; and from this Practice he farther reaped another Advantage, that he thoroughly underſtood the Neceſſities of thoſe that were really Poor, whoſe hard Circumſtances he conſtantly relieved, either from his own Charity, or from the Bounty of thoſe who ſupplied him upon all ſuch Occaſions.

The Pariſh infeſted with Antinomian *Books.*

There was hardly a Family in his Pariſh which was not furniſhed with great Store of *Antinomian* Books, ſuch Doctrines prevailing very much in thoſe Times, which they read often and valued much; and therefore in theſe Viſits he took particular care to examine what Books they were moſt Converſant in; and when he found what he had reaſon to ſuſpect, he conſtantly warned them againſt the Poiſon they were ſo familiar with. By this Method, and the Bleſſing of God upon his Endeavours, he quickly convinced his Pariſhioners of the falſe Reaſonings that were contained in ſuch *Antinomian* Books, and how contrary the Tenents maintained in them were to the Holy Scriptures, and how inconſiſtent with that

Scheme

Scheme of Salvation, which the bleſſed *Jeſus* had propoſed to all his Followers. There is one Circumſtance in theſe Viſits which muſt not be forgot, becauſe it is very proper for the Imitation of ſuch Incumbents, who have any Pariſhioners that keep at a Diſtance from their Communion. When Mr. *Bull* found any Perſon, that either never came to the Pariſh-Church, or after having frequented it, withdrew to ſome other Communion; his conſtant Practice was to enquire who had ſeduced them, and deſired to know their Names, in order to Summon them to a Conference in the Preſence of the Party who had been prevailed upon to abſent from the Pariſh-Church. Theſe Challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr. *Bull* being Young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain and defend a Cauſe againſt Perſons of Riper Age, and who had been long verſed in the Controverſy; but by the quickneſs and readineſs of his Parts, and by his cloſe way of maintaining an Argument, which was very natural to him, as I have already obſerved, he found his account in theſe Conferences, and had thereby very great Succeſs in recovering his wandring Sheep. As to the Younger ſort of People his Cuſtom was to addreſs to them in Publick as well as Private, and therefore he would pitch upon ſome Week-Day to Preach to them before he Adminiſtred the Holy Euchariſt, that ſuch as had not yet been admitted to that Divine Ordinance,

might be thoroughly inſtructed in the Nature and Deſign of the Chriſtian Sacrifice, and might be taught what Preparation was neceſſary to qualifie them to appear at the Holy Altar.

The Excellency of Mr. Bull's Method.

It muſt be allowed, that theſe Rules by which he managed himſelf in the Government of his Pariſh, were very admirable, and exceeding proper, by the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace, to make his Labours effectual for the good of Souls, and very fit for the Imitation of the Parochial Clergy, where their Cures will admit of ſuch a particular Application, and where they are not yet fallen into ſuch Meaſures. But what ſeemeth wonderful to me, is, that a young Man of One and twenty, for Mr. *Bull* did not exceed that Age, when he firſt became Incumbent of the Living of St. *George*'s, ſhould be able to frame ſo good a Scheme for his own Conduct, and ſhould have ſo much Induſtry and Zeal, as to put it in Execution. Such Methods as theſe, and ſuch Manly Thoughts are uſually the reſult of Experience and riper Years, and ſeldom occur to thoſe that juſt enter upon the Stage of Buſineſs. By this we may fairly conclude, that Mr. *Bull* was a Man of no ordinary Capacity, but had a Genius for that Sacred Function he had eſpouſed, and had ſtrong Impreſſions of his Duty in the Flower of his Youth, and was firmly bent to ſpare no pains that were neceſſary to diſcharge it to the Honour of God and the Good of Souls.

The

IX.

The Prayers he uſed in Publick.

The Iniquity of the Times would not bear the conſtant and regular Uſe of the Liturgy; to ſupply therefore that Misfortune, Mr. *Bull* formed all the Devotions he offered up in Publick, while he continued Miniſter of this Place, out of the Book of Common-Prayer, which did not fail to ſupply him with fit Matter and proper Words upon all thoſe Occaſions that required him to apply to the Throne of Grace with the Wants of his People. He had the Example of one of the brighteſt Lights of that Age, the judicious Dr. *Sanderſon*, to juſtifie him in this Practice; and his manner of Performing the Publick Service, was with ſo much Serioufneſs and Devotion, with ſo much Fervour and Ardency of Affection, and with ſo Powerful an Emphaſis in every Part, that they who were moſt prejudiced againſt the Liturgy, did not ſcruple to commend Mr. *Bull* as a Perſon that Prayed by the Spirit, though at the ſame time they railed at the Common-Prayer as a beggerly Element, and as a carnal Performance.

An Inſtance of the Common-Prayer being admired by the Diſſenters, when uſed by Mr. Bull.

A particular Inſtance of this hapned to him while he was Miniſter of St. *George's*, which becauſe it ſheweth how valuable the Liturgy is in itſelf, and what unreaſonable Prejudices are ſometimes taken up againſt it, the Reader will not, I believe, think it unworthy to be related. He was ſent for to Baptize the Child of a Diſſenter in his Pariſh; upon

which Occaſion, he made uſe of the Office of Baptiſm, as preſcribed by the Church of *England*, which he had got entirely by heart; and he went through it with ſo much Readineſs and Freedom, and yet with ſo much Gravity and Devotion, and gave that Life and Spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole Audience was extremely affected with his Performance; and notwithſtanding that he uſed the Sign of the Croſs, yet, they were ſo ignorant of the Offices of the Church, that they did not thereby diſcover that it was the Common-Prayer. But after that he had concluded that Holy Action, the Father of the Child returned him a great many Thanks, intimating at the ſame time, with how much greater Edification they Prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his Aſſiſtance in their *extempore* Effuſions, than thoſe did who tied themſelves up to premeditated Forms; and that if he had not made the Sign of the Croſs, that Badge of Popery, as he called it, No-body could have formed the leaſt Objection againſt his excellent Prayers. Upon which, Mr. *Bull* hoping to recover him from his ill-grounded Prejudices, ſhewed him the Office of Baptiſm in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every Prayer which he had offered up to God on that Occaſion; which, with farther Arguments that he then urged, ſo effectually wrought upon the good Man and his whole Family, that they always after that Time frequented the Pariſh-

Pariſh-Church, and never more abſented themſelves from Mr. *Bull*'s Communion. From whence we may reaſonably conclude, that as a miſtaken Zeal may throw Contempt upon what juſtly deſerves to be admired; ſo alſo that Gravity, Seriouſneſs, and Devotion, in reading the Prayers, is neceſſary to ſecure that Reſpect to the Liturgy which its own Excellency requireth from us.

An eminent Danger he was preſerved from.

While he remained Miniſter of this Pariſh the Providence of God was pleaſed to appear wonderfully in his Preſervation; for all thoſe Second Cauſes that concur to protect us from any Danger that Threatneth us, muſt be Attributed to that All-wiſe and Powerful Hand that over-rules them. The Lodgings he had taken in this Place were contiguous to a Powder-Mill, where he purſued his Studies with great Aſſiduity for ſeveral Months; 'till the Gentleman of the Pariſh, Mr. *Morgan*, a Perſon of unblemiſhed Loyalty and Affection to the Church, and his Lady, Daughter to Sir *William Maſters* of *Cirenceſter*, making him a Viſit, they obſerved to him the Danger he was expoſed to by continuing longer in thoſe Lodgings, and in a very Friendly manner invited him to their own Houſe, where they aſſured him of all that Accommodation which was neceſſary and agreeable to him. He modeſtly for ſome time declined this kind Offer, but their repeated importunity at laſt prevailed, and he accepted of that obliging Propoſal, which

which was the means, under God, of ſaving his Life; for not many Days after his Removal to Mr. *Morgan*'s, the Mill was blown up, and his Apartment with it, on ſuch a Day and Hour as he had always been in his Study from the time he firſt came to that Place. So that he muſt inevitably have periſhed, if his Deliverance had not been wrought out for him after this unexpected manner. This ſingular Goodneſs of God, which interpoſed in his Behalf, was received with all Thankfulneſs; and a Life thus preſerved quickned his Endeavours in purſuing the true Purpoſes of Living.

He goes to Oxford *once a Year for the Uſe of Libraries.*

During his being at St. *George*'s, and ſome think for a Year or Two before, his conſtant Cuſtom was to make a Journey once a Year to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he remained about Two Months to enjoy the Benefit and Advantage of the Publick Libraries. It is a great Misfortune to a young Clergyman, when he is confined to a Country Cure, to be deſtitute of ſuch Books as are neceſſary to enable him to make any conſiderable Advance in his Studies of Divinity, to which other Parts of Learning contribute their Aid and Aſſiſtance, and therefore conſequently are not to be neglected. And if the ſolid Foundation of uſeful Knowledge is not laid, and the Habit of Studying acquired, while Men are in the prime of their Days, they ſeldom make any Progreſs that will be able to diſtinguiſh them from Perſons of ordinary Attainments. But Mr.

Mr. *Bull* being ſenſible of what Conſequence it was, to ſeaſon his Youth with all that Learning which he was then capable of attaining, took the Method I now mention to ſupply the want of a good private Library; and by the great Proficiency he made, it very ſufficiently anſwered what he propoſed from it; for here he nouriſhed his Mind with freſh Supplies of Learning, and having nothing to diſtract his Thoughts, or to interrupt his Studies, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Advances he made in thoſe Two Months, were much greater than he could attain in double the time at his own Cure, where the conſtant Duties of his Pariſh challenged a large Share, and where the want of Books hindered him from employing his Leiſure to the greateſt Advantage. Beſides, he reaped another Benefit from this Excurſion, that the Exerciſe of the Journey contributed to the Preſervation of the Health of his Body, which by a conſtant ſedantary Life is expoſed to many growing Infirmities. In his way to *Oxford*, and in his Return, he always made a Viſit to Sir *William Maſters* of *Cirenceſter*, where he was conſtantly received, as a very welcome Gueſt, with great Civility and Kindneſs. He uſually upon theſe Occaſions Preached for the Incumbent of that Place, Mr. *Alexander Gregory*, whereby was laid the Foundation of ſuch an Acquaintance and Friendſhip between them, as was afterwards improved to ſo great an Intimacy,

timacy, that in ſome time Mr. *Bull* Married one of his Daughters.

X. In the Change of his Condition Mr. *Bull* ſeemed to have a Regard chiefly to the Character of the Perſon he choſe for the Companion of his Life, and preferred the Qualifications of Piety and Vertue to thoſe Temporal Advantages, which for the moſt Part influence the Minds of Men upon ſuch Occaſions. And as this Method ought to be purſued by all thoſe that would Build their Happineſs upon a ſure Foundation in a Married State; ſo it appears ſtill more neceſſary in a Clergyman, becauſe not only himſelf, but his Family ought to be a Pattern to the whole Pariſh. For he hath ſolemnly Promiſed, in the Preſence of God, to apply himſelf diligently not only to frame and faſhion himſelf, but his Family alſo, according to the Doctrine of Chriſt; and to make not only himſelf, but them alſo, as much as in him lieth, wholſome Examples to the Flock of Chriſt. Now what means can be ſo fitly adapted to this End as a prudent Miſtreſs of a Family, eminent in thoſe Vertues which are the peculiar Ornament of the Female Sex, ſuch as Devotion and Purity, Meekneſs and Modeſty, Mercifulneſs and Humility; to which may be added, that Gravity of Garb, and Decency of Dreſs, which in a particular manner adorneth the Wife of a Clergyman, who will do Honour to her Husband, and riſe in the Eſteem of

Mr. Bull *Marries Mrs.* Bridget Gregory.

of others, the more ſhe keepeth at a diſtance from the Vanity and Gayety of the Age.

The Appearance of theſe Chriſtian and proper Endowments for the Family of a Prieſt, determined Mr. *Bull* to conclude a Marriage with Mrs. *Bridget Gregory*, Daughter of Mr. *Alexander Gregory*, under whoſe Care ſhe was Educated with great Modeſty and Sobriety. They were joined together in Holy Matrimony by Mr. *William Maſters*, Vicar of *Preſton*, according to the Form preſcribed in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, The Uſe of which was then forbidden under a great Penalty. But as Mr. *Bull* had a particular Regard to our excellent Liturgy, in thoſe Times when it was the Faſhion to deſpiſe it; ſo he had not a leſs Eſteem for the Conſtitution of the Church; for in order to render ſo ſerious an Action as Matrimony is, ſtill more Solemn, he pitched upon *Aſcenſion-Day* for the Solemnizing of it, which, in 1658, was the Twentieth of *May*.

Her Character.

The Succeſs of ſuch an important Action anſwered the Care and Caution that was uſed in bringing it to paſs; for Mrs. *Bull* proved in all reſpects a fit Conſort for a Clergyman, as being in her own Nature ſufficiently Provident, and yet well diſpoſed to all manner of good Works, out of a true Principle of Love to God and Goodneſs. Her Attire was very plain and grave: Her chief Diverſion was the Care of her Family, and her main Ambition was to pleaſe her Husband, to whom ſhe was always a Com-

a Complying and Obedient Wife. Yet her Piety was not confined to her own Home, but extended itſelf to the whole Pariſh wherever ſhe lived: for by the Help of her Cloſet, and Skill in Surgery, ſhe made her ſelf extreamly Uſeful and Neceſſary upon all Occaſions, and was very much beloved, eſpecially by thoſe of the meaner Sort. Theſe Advantages ſhe improved to the beſt Purpoſes; for by theſe means ſhe was highly Inſtrumental with the People of *Avening*, a Living which Mr. *Bull* was afterwards Preferred to, eſpecially thoſe of her own Sex, to lay aſide their Prejudices againſt the *Common-Prayer*, to bring their Children to Church to receive Publick Baptiſm, which they had not been uſed to do for many Years before, and to return Thanks to God after Child-birth, which had been diſcontinued for ſome time in that Pariſh. Such was her Charity, that ſhe not only diſtributed her own Alms with great Liberality and Diſcretion, but would frequently put the Overſeers of the Poor in mind of their Duty; that the Sick and Aged might not want ſuch Supplies as they were Obliged to Furniſh, and the Neceſſity of the Indigent required. And ſuch was her Concern for the Souls of her Neighbours, that when her Huſband's Infirmities made him, upon Occaſions, unable to viſit the Sick, and that the Curate was accidentally from Home, ſhe would procure this Aſſiſtance, when to be had, from others; and her worthy Son-in-Law Mr. Archdeacon

Stephens

Stephens well knows, that he ſeldom went to pay his Duty at her Houſe, but ſhe would engage him to go along with her to Viſit the Sick, and to Pray and Diſcourſe with them. They were Man and Wife above Fifty Years; and ſhe is yet living at *Brecknock*; the People of which Place were ſo kind as to ſend a Meſſage to her on purpoſe, after the Biſhop's Death, to ſignifie their earneſt Deſire and Requeſt, that ſhe would come and ſpend the Remainder of her Days among them; and though ſollicited by ſome of her Relations to live with them, yet ſhe complyed with this obliging Propoſal, not ſo much from an Inclination to live at *Brecknock*, as to Dye there, being determined to be Buried near her deceaſed Husband, who was there Interred; and to this Purpoſe the Ground remains ſtill unpaved by her Order, who daily waiteth for her Diſſolution. She brought Mr. *Bull* Five Sons and Six Daughters, and ſo proved a Fruitful as well as a Provident and Obedient Wife, which exactly anſwered the Prayer of her Wedding-Ring, which was, *benè parere, parêre, parare det mihi Deus.*

XI.

He was preſented to Suddington St. Mary's.

About this Year, 1658, he was preſented to the Rectory of *Suddington St. Mary*, near *Cirenceſter* in *Gloceſterſhire*, which being a Living under Value, was in the Gift of the Keeper of the Seals for the time being, and conſequently at the Diſpoſal of thoſe who at that Time

Time were no Friends to the Church of *England*; and yet Mr. *Bull* got the Preſentation, not only without any mean Application to the unlawful Powers then in Poſſeſſion, but very honeſtly and honourably; the manner whereof was thus: The Lady *Pool*, who at that Time lived at *Cirenceſter*, as Lady of the Mannor of *Suddington*, claimed a Right of Preſenting to that Living, and having a Reſpect for Mr. *Gregory*, whoſe Daughter Mr. *Bull* had Married, and a much greater for Mr. *Bull* himſelf afterwards, as appeared by making him her Executor; ſhe offered Mr. *Bull* the Preſentation, which he accepted purely upon her Right; but he had certainly loſt it if Mr. *Stone* of *Cirenceſter*, a particular Friend of Mr. *Gregory*'s, had not taken out the Broad-Seal without Mr. *Bull*'s Knowledge or Privity; which he did upon this Occaſion. A Clergyman, who knew that Mr. *Bull* had not a good Title, endeavoured to get the Broad-Seal for his Living; which he had certainly ſucceeded in, if Mr. *Stone* had not been concerned in the Preſentations; for when that Perſon addreſſed to Mr. *Stone* for that purpoſe, he told him that there was a Miniſter lately ſettled at *Suddington* whoſe Name was *Bull*; to which the Party replyed, that though he was in Poſſeſſion, yet he wanted the Legal Title. Upon this Mr. *Stone* acquainted him, that though he did not perſonally know Mr. *Bull*, yet he was not a Stranger to his Character, and having heard that

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he had Married a Daughter of a good Friend of his, if he had not a good Title he would help him to one; and ſo took out the Broad-Seal for Mr. *Bull*, and ſent it to Mr. *Gregory*, and at the ſame time gave him an Account, how much Danger his Son-in-Law had been in; and all this Mr. *Stone* did *gratis*, out of a great Regard and Eſteem for Mr. *Gregory*, which the Providence of God made uſe of for Mr. *Bull*'s Security.

He was made privy to the Deſign of a general Inſurrection in 59.

In the Year 1659, the Nation began to be very ſenſible of the Miſery they had long groaned under, and were very earneſt to relieve themſelves from that Oppreſſion, which had ſo long prevailed among them, and there was at that time a general Diſpoſition all over the Kingdom to concert Meaſures for the King's Reſtoration. There were very few Counties in *England*, were there was not a formed Undertaking by the moſt Powerful Men of the County to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome conſiderable Place that might be Serviceable to ſo good a Purpoſe. Several Gentlemen in Mr. *Bull*'s Neighbourhood, had frequent Meetings to conſult how they might contribute their Share of Advice and Strength towards Settling the Nation upon a Right Foundation, by Reſtoring the Heir of the Kingdom to the Throne of his Anceſtors: and Mr. *Bull* was at that time ſo well eſteemed for his Loyalty and Prudence, that the Gentlemen admitted him into their Secret, and had that Confidence in his wiſe Manage-

ment, as well as in his good Diſpoſitions to the Church of *England*, and the Royal Family, that they fixed upon his Houſe at *Suddington* for one of the Places of their Meeting. And accordingly we find from the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, that in *July* that Year a general Rendezvous was deſigned throughout *England*, of all who would Declare for the King, there having been Commiſſions in every County, directed to Six or Seven known Men, with Authority to them to chuſe One to command in chief in that County, till they ſhould make a Conjunction with other Forces who had a Superior Commiſſion from the King. But through the Permiſſion of Divine Providence, this Undertaking was diſappointed, and Sir *George Booth*, who was the only Perſon among many that were engaged, that made a ſucceſsful Attempt in ſeizing upon *Cheſter*, was in a few Days defeated, and himſelf made a Priſoner.

His preaching at Cirenceſter, and the occaſion of it.

Upon the Reſtoration Mr. *Bull* frequently Preached at *Cirenceſter*, where there was a populous and large Congregation; and he was the better able to give this Aſſiſtance to his Father-in-Law Mr. *Gregory*, who by his great Age and Infirmitities was diſabled from performing the Duties of his Function, becauſe his Pariſh lay in that Neighbourhood. Here his Sermons gave that general Satisfaction, that upon a Vacancy in that Cure, the People were very ſolicitous to procure for him the Preſentation;

tation; but they could not prevail upon him to conſent to the Endeavours they were making to that Purpoſe; the Buſineſs of it was ſo great, by reaſon of the Largeneſs of the Pariſh, that he was diſcouraged from accepting this Teſtimony of their Kindneſs and Reſpect towards him. The Choice of the Subjects which he Diſcourſed upon at that Place, and in that Conjuncture of Publick Affairs, were ſo very ſeaſonable, that they had a viſible good Effect upon the Congregation, and made ſuch a deep Impreſſion, that they are remembred by ſome Perſons even to this Day. His Deſign was to convince the People, of the Neceſſity of a decent Behaviour in the Houſe of God, as well as of the Religious Obſervation of the Lord's-Day, which he explained and preſſed in ſeveral Sermons, from *Levit.* xix. *ver.* 30. *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary*; *I am the Lord.* How proper ſuch Applications were then to the People, we may collect from the Poſture of Affairs in which we then were; for the Swarms of Sectaries which over-ran the Nation in the Times of the Great Rebellion had carried their Hypocriſy ſo high, that upon the Reſtoration, ſome Men thought they could not recede too far from the Behaviour and Practice of thoſe Perſons, who had made Religion a Cloak for ſo many Villanies. This was apt to expoſe Men to the other Extreme, and inclined them to think every Appearance of Devotion was Puritanical.

So that nothing could be more proper than to guard Peoples Minds from the Temptations to which they were liable, and by proper Arguments to enable them to reſiſt what was urged againſt ſome things that were Serious and Devout, under the Pretence of their being Fanatical. For though Hypocriſy and Prophaneſs will both prove Deſtructive to thoſe that indulge them in their Practice; yet barefaced Irreligion is moſt Pernicious to the Publick.

XII. In the Year 1662, Mr. *Bull* was preſented to the Vicaridge of *Suddington St. Peter*, by the then Lord Chancellor the Earl of *Clarendon*, at the Requeſt and Application of his conſtant Patron and worthy Dioceſan, Dr. *Nicholſon*, who was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter* upon the Reſtoration, and who had all that Merit which was neceſſary to fill ſo great a Station in the Church to the beſt Advantage, if his Steddineſs to her Doctrines and Diſcipline, in her moſt afflicted State, had not made it alſo reaſonable that he ſhould have had his Share in her Proſperity. This Vicaridge, which was but mean in itſelf, for the Yearly Value did not Amount to above 25 *l.* yet it was of ſome Advantage to Mr. *Bull*, becauſe it lay contiguous to the Rectory of the ſame Name, of which he was then in Poſſeſſion; and it was equally convenient to the Pariſhioners of both Pariſhes to come to either of the Churches, in which he thought fit to Officiate;

He was preſented to the Vicaridge of Sudding-ton St. Peter.

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ſo that he ſometimes Preached in one and ſometimes in the other. The Income of both theſe Livings together did not riſe to above 100 *l.* a Year, clear of Taxes, ſo that if there was not much Addition to his Labour, there was alſo no great Increaſe of his Revenue. But Mr. *Bull* had a farther Proſpect in the enjoying theſe Two Livings, than the gratifying his own Intereſt; for by this Means he purpoſed to get them United for the Future, and to have them put under the ſame Grant; which he thought would very well anſwer the Pains he took to compaſs it, and might be a very good peice of Service to the Church. For as they were not too large for one Man's Care, both Pariſhes not containing above Thirty Families, ſo by this Union it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that a Perſon might be expected better qualifyed for both when they were joyned together, than could be hoped for when they were ſeparated for either. The Application he made upon this Account proved very ſucceſsful, for the Matter being fairly repreſented to my Lord Chancellor by Mr. *Bull*'s Dioceſan, the Two Livings were United, and were to paſs under the ſame Grant for the Future. So that he really may be ſaid to have been a conſiderable Benefactor to all thoſe Incumbents who ſhall Succeed him in that Benefice.

He Marries a Couple Publickly by the Form of Common-Prayer.

When he firſt came to the Rectory of *Suddington*, he began to be more open in the Uſe of

of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; and it was next to impoſſible but that it ſhould be liked and approved by every one that heard him Officiate: for he had a moſt excellent Talent in performing the whole Service; and he was to that Degree perfect in it, that I never yet heard him equalled by any one. His whole Deportment was grave and ſerious, and had withal an Air of that Authority which belonged to his Function; his Pronunciation was diſtinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; he went through every Part of the Service with that particular Devotion that belongs to it. He Read the Holy Scriptures with ſuch Leiſure, and with ſuch Exactneſs, in obſerving the Stops and Points, that they were much better underſtood by the People; and yet with that Zeal and Gravity as ſhewed the Importance of the Meſſage which he delivered, and fixt the Attention of thoſe that were to receive it. He offered up all the Prayers with great Warmth and Intenſeneſs of Mind; his very Soul ſeemed to invigorate every Petition, and to give new Life to every Prayer; which is certainly one good Method to kindle Heavenly Affections in the Congregation. With theſe Advantages he reconciled the Minds of his Pariſhioners to the Common-Prayer, before the Uſe of it was Publickly Reſtored, by the Return of King *Charles* the Second; of which he made a Proof, when he was but newly eſtabliſhed in his

his Cure: For being deſired to Marry a Couple, he performed it on a *Sunday* Morning, according to the Form of the Common-Prayer-Book, in the Face of the Congregation, where the moſt of his Pariſhioners were Aſſembled together for the Religious Obſervation of that Holy Day. When he came out of the Church he enquired of the People, how they liked that manner of Solemnizing Matrimony; not concealing from them, how much it was in their Power to expoſe him to a malicious Proſecution, and ſhewing at the ſame time the Confidence he placed in their Kindneſs and Affection; upon which they All expreſſed their unanimous Approbation of his Performance; declaring, not only their Readineſs to ſubmit, but alſo their Satisfaction in joyning in thoſe Prayers which he uſed in Publick, with ſolemn Aſſurances, that they would not only make no Complaints of him themſelves, but alſo endeavour to prevent them from others.

Reading the Prayers devoutly no mean Attainment, and of great Advantage to the People.

It is poſſible this devout and decent Reading of the Prayers of the Church, may be looked upon by ſome, as a mean and low Attainment, and by others, as a Burthen and Task to be impoſed only upon thoſe that have not Gifts for the Pulpit. And indeed, if we may have leave to gueſs at the Thoughts of ſome Men by their Actions, this muſt be the Language of their Hearts; for either they ſeldom or never read the Prayers themſelves, and ſo depretiate the Worth and Excellency of them with

the People; as if that Adminiſtration were below the Dignity of a Parochial Prieſt; or they provide Perſons of ſuch ordinary and unskilful Elocution to Officiate in their ſtead, as apparently tendeth to damp rather than raiſe the Devotion of the Congregation. But Experience ſufficiently convinceth us, that this Accompliſhment is not eaſily acquired, becauſe we find there are but few that excel this way; and nothing ought to be accounted mean, that is ſo inſtrumental in promoting Devotion in the Hearts and Affections of Men. And if any one will attempt in earneſt to make himſelf Maſter of this Talent, he will find that it will coſt him much Labour and Pains before he can compaſs it; for all are not equally bleſt by Nature with Strength and Sweetneſs of Voice; and yet they ought not to be diſcouraged if they want thoſe Advantages, becauſe Elocution is capable of great Improvement by Study and conſtant Practice. But after all, thoſe who cannot read as becometh the Service of God, ought to be rejected as unfit, upon that Account, to receive Holy Orders; for though a Man hath the Underſtanding of an Angel, yet if he hath no Voice, or, at leaſt, if it is ſo low, and ſo imperfect, that it cannot either convey his Thoughts to the People, or Officiate to Edification in the Service of the Church, ſo far he is unqualified to be admitted into the Sacred Function. What a dreadful Account then will thoſe Governors in the Church

Church have to give at the Day of Judgment, who Ordain ſuch for Deacons as by their Adminiſtrations quench the Devotion of the People, and provoke our Adverſaries to reproach us; and by their Incapacity to Read, make the Scripture a dead Letter, and the admirable Liturgy of the Church, a contemptible Performance.

XIII. *His manner of Preaching and the frequency of it.*

But though he thus excelled in diſcharging all the Offices of the Liturgy, yet he did not ſhine leſs in the Pulpit, from whence he did for ſeveral Years inſtruct his Pariſh Twice every Lord's-Day. The great End and Deſign of his Sermons, for I have often heard him with great Pleaſure and Edification, was to acquaint his People with the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make them Wiſe unto Salvation; and therefore all Subjects which he handled, were always ſtrengthened and confirmed by Paſſages from Holy Writ, and thoſe Paſſages explained and made eaſy to the Capacity of the meaneſt Underſtanding, and ſuch uſeful Obſervations drawn from them, as gave freſh Light to his Subject, as well as to thoſe Texts he had Quoted in order to Illuſtrate it. And indeed, he was every way qualified for this proper Employment of a Chriſtian Preacher; for as he had a clear Head and a ſtrong Judgment, ſo he did with great Accuracy underſtand thoſe Learned Languages wherein the Bible was Originally Wrote; he had

had taken no ſmall Pains in his Youth to make himſelf Maſter of the *Hebrew*; for he did not content himſelf with a ſlight and ſuperficial Skill in a Language, which he thought ſo neceſſary for a Divine; and upon which he laid ſuch weight, that it was very uſual with him to recommend the Study of it to the Candidates of Divinity, as a Foundation for their future Theological Performances. And in his *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, which was the very firſt Book he Publiſhed, he gave the World a ſufficient Evidence of his Knowledge of this kind; and not only of his Acquaintance with the *Hebrew* Text, and the beſt Criticks thereupon, but alſo of a much deeper Inſight into the Jewiſh Learning, by his Familiarity with, and accurate Judgment concerning the Cuſtoms and *Dogmata* of that Nation, from their beſt Writers. By theſe means he was able himſelf to make a Judgment of the Tranſlations of the Holy Scriptures, and inſtead of an implicite Submiſſion to the Criticks, was qualified to diſcover their Errors, as well as to admire their Perfections; which maketh it very adviſeable, that all thoſe who dedicate themſelves to the Service of the Church, ſhould allow the *Hebrew* Language a Share in their Studies. To theſe Helps were added a Knowledge of Sacred Hiſtory as well as Prophane, and an Inſight into thoſe Cuſtoms, to which ſeveral Parts of Scripture frequently refer, and without the underſtanding of which, it is often impoſ-

impoſſible to diſcern the Strength and Beauty of what is delivered. But above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with Primitive Antiquity, and had with great Care and Obſervation Read the Works of the Fathers and Ancient Doctors, from whence he was beſt able to learn the Senſe of the Catholick Church upon all Matters of Conſequence, which is the beſt Guide in Interpreting thoſe Scriptures which are not plain in themſelves.

He only writ the Scheme of his Sermon.

It was but ſeldom, and that upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, that he compoſed his Sermon entire and committed it to Writing; which is the Reaſon that he hath left ſo few finiſhed Diſcourſes behind him. His uſual Method was, after the choice of his Text, to mark ſome Words that were to be explained, in order to give the true Senſe of that Portion of Scripture he had choſe to treat upon; and then he writ down ſome Obſervations, which flowed naturally from the Subject, and under each Obſervation Hints to illuſtrate it, and Texts of Scripture proper to be explained in order to give Light to it, and then drew Inferences from his whole Diſcourſe by way of Application. Thus he had only the Scheme of his Sermon before him in Writing, and having in this Manner ſecured the Subſtance of it, he did by Cuſtom and Practice bring himſelf to a great Readineſs and Fluency in Expreſſing himſelf upon all Subjects; and if this Manner of Preaching wanted the Exactneſs of more

more ſtudied Compoſures, it had the Advantage of that popular Style, which by good Judges hath been thought the fitteſt for the Pulpit; from whence, if Men deſign to influence and perſuade the Generality of their Hearers, they muſt condeſcend to uſe more Words than are neceſſary in a ſtrict Senſe; the ſame thing muſt be repeated often, and turned after a different Manner, and inculcated with Force, ſo that freſh and laſting Impreſſions may be made upon the Audience. What Mr. *Bull* delivered of this Kind, never wanted a becoming Fervour, and he enlivened his Diſcourſes with proper and decent Geſtures; and his Voice was always exerted with ſome Vehemency, whereby he kept the Audience awake, and raiſed their Attention to what he Delivered, and perſuaded the People that he was in Earneſt, and affected himſelf with what he recommended to Others. By theſe Means he laboured many Years in teaching the Ignorant, in comfirming the Weak, in quieting the Scrupulous, in ſoftning the hard Heart, in rouzing the Sinner, and in raiſing the Pious Soul to a ſteady and vigorous Purſuit of Eternal Happineſs. And whatever he delivered, his Words were generally fixt in the Minds of his Hearers, as they parted from his own full of Warmth and Heat.

His Care in Catechiſing the Youth.

Mr. *Bull* was too ſenſible of the Neceſſity and Advantage of Catechiſing, to neglect an Inſtitution which hath ſo direct a Tendency to promote

mote Piety and Religion in the Minds of Men. The Inſtructions from the Pulpit very often Miſcarry for want of laying a good Foundation in the Firſt Principles of Religion, and from not underſtanding the Meaning of thoſe Words and Phraſes which ſo frequently occur in ſet and formed Diſcourſes; and it is a vain Attempt to Reform the World, without Seaſoning the Minds of the Youth with that neceſſary Knowledge of the Chriſtian Myſteries, upon which all Religious Practice muſt be Built. He laboured therefore, particularly, in this Province, and did not content himſelf barely to hear the Youth repeat the Words of our excellent Catechiſm, but he Expounded it to them after a plain and familiar Manner, whereby he did not only Sow the good Seed of the Word in Young and Tender Minds; but alſo enlightned thoſe of Riper Years, whom he Encouraged and Exhorted to be preſent at his Catechetical Performances, and who were too much aſhamed of their Ignorance to overcome it by any other Methods. God was pleaſed ſo far to bleſs his Endeavours of this Kind, that he carried *Fifty* Perſons well inſtructed in the Principles of Chriſtian Religion at one Time, to the Viſitation at *Cirenceſter*, who were all Confirmed by the Biſhop, when his whole Pariſh did not conſiſt of above *Thirty* Families.

Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, how Adminiſtred by him.

He Adminiſtred the Sacraments of our Holy Religion with great Reverence and Solemnity;

nity; The Holy Euchariſt, the Myſterious Rite and Perfection of Chriſtian Worſhip, was not performed ſo often in this Pariſh, as he earneſtly deſired; and yet oftner than is uſual in little Villages; for he brought it to Seven Times in a Year. But whenever he Officiated at the Altar, it was exactly agreeable to the Directions of the Rubrick, and with the Gravity and Seriouſneſs of a Primitive Prieſt. He preſerved the Cuſtom of a Collection for the Poor, when the Prieſt begins the Offertory, which I the rather mention, becauſe it is too much neglected in Country Villages. He always placed the Elements of Bread and Wine upon the Altar himſelf, after he had received them either from the Church-Warden or Clerk, or had taken them from ſome convenient Place, where they were laid for that purpoſe. His conſtant Practice was to Offer them upon the Holy Table, in the firſt place, in conformity to the Practice of the Ancient Church, before he began the Communion Service; and this the Rubrick, after the Offertory, ſeemeth to require of all her Prieſts, by declaring, "That when there is a Com-"munion, the Prieſt ſhall then place upon "the Table ſo much Bread and Wine as he "ſhall think ſufficient." He was always very unwilling to Adminiſter Baptiſm in private Houſes, except in Caſes of Neceſſity, when the Church for a greater Good thinketh fit to diſpenſe with her own Laws. And therefore he

he not only admoniſhed Parents to bring their Children to receive Publick Baptiſm; but, according to the Advice laid down in the Rubrick, that the Performance might be more Solemn, he deſired it might be on Sundays or other Holy Days, when the greateſt Number of People were met together; That the Congregation might teſtifie the receiving of them that are newly Baptized into the Number of Chriſt's Church; and that every Man preſent in the Baptiſm of Infants might be put in Remembrance of his own Profeſſion made to God in that Sacrament. He urged this with the greater Importunity upon his Pariſhioners, that the Infant to be baptized might thereby have the Benefit of the united Prayers of a full Chriſtian Congregation, which he thought were much to be valued. An Argument which could not fail to have a great Influence upon Parents, who ſeldom want great Tenderneſs and Affection for their Children; though ſometimes they are not well inſtructed how to exerciſe it.

His Obſervation of the Holy-days of the Church.

It is provided by the Rubrick, after the ſaying the *Nicene* Creed on Sundays, "That "the Curate ſhall declare unto the People, "what Holy-days or Faſting-days are in the "Week following to be obſerved:" And this Direction is enforced by the Sixty-fourth Canon of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, made by the Convocation in 1603. Now Mr. *Bull* did not ſatisfie himſelf only with giving this Notice

Notice to his Pariſhioners, which he could not well omit without neglecting his Duty; but he led them to the Obſervation of ſuch Holy Inſtitutions by his own Example. For he had ſo far a Regard to theſe Holy-Days, as to cauſe all his Family to repair to the Church at ſuch Times; and on the Days of Faſting and Abſtinence, the neceſſary Refreſhments of Life were adjourned from the uſual Hour till towards the Evening. He was too well acquainted with the Practice of the Primitive Chriſtians to neglect ſuch Obſervances as they made Inſtrumental to Piety and Devotion, and had too great a Value for the Injunctions of his Mother the Church of *England*, to Diſobey where She required a Compliance; But above all, he was too intent upon making advances in the Chriſtian Life, to omit a Duty all along obſerved by Devout Men, and acceptable to God under the Old and New Teſtament, both as it was helpful to their Devotion, and became a part of it. I muſt not here forget to take notice of the particular Regard he always Paid to *Good-Friday*, called by the Ancient Fathers, *The chief and greateſt of Days, the Miſtreſs of all Solemnities, the Holy and Adorable Day of our Lord's ſalutary Paſſion.* It is very difficult in Country Villages to prevail on People to attend the Publick Worſhip upon any Week-Day, by reaſon of that conſtant Application wherewith they follow their Worldly Affairs; but in order to perſuade

perſuade his Pariſhioners to a ſtrict Obſervation of this great Chriſtian Faſt, he always had a Sermon beſides the Service of the Church to bring them together, and as long as he was able, he was no leſs Conſtant in Preaching it himſelf. The Senſe of our Saviour's Sufferings was on ſuch Occaſions warm upon his Mind, and he never failed at ſuch Times to work upon the tender Paſſions of his Hearers, ſince it was the Sins of Mankind that drew upon the Bleſſed *Jeſus* the painful and ſhameful Death of the Croſs. And what Preacher would neglect ſo favourable an Opportunity, to advance the Love of his dear Redeemer in the Minds of Men, by a lively Repreſentation of thoſe inexpreſſible Sorrows which he Suffered in his laſt bitter Paſſion for the Salvation of Souls?

XIV. *The religious Government of his Family.*

If we follow Mr. *Bull* from the Performance of his Paſtoral Duties into his own Family, and conſider him as the Maſter that governs it, we ſhall ſtill find him acted by Principles of true Piety; and indeed, as the Apoſtle obſerveth, *If a Man know not how to rule his own Houſe, how ſhall he take care of the Church of God?* If he hath not a true Concern for the Souls of his Wife and Children and Servants, and doth not make uſe of all favourable Opportunities to inſtil the Fear of God into their Minds; how is it Poſſible he ſhould have Zeal enough to ſet forward the Salvation of others,

where the Obligations are leſs, and the Endearments weaker? But in this particular, as well as in many others, Mr. *Bull* approved himſelf to be a *Workman that needeth not to be aſhamed*, for he exerciſed a pious Care in training up thoſe under his Charge in the Worſhip and Service of God. Every Morning and every Evening the Family were called together to offer up their Prayers to their great Creator and Preſerver. This is a Duty certainly incumbent upon all Maſters of Families, becauſe it tendeth ſo very much to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of thoſe under their Government; but more particularly belongeth to a Clergyman from the Nature of his Function, ſo that if he neglecteth this Morning and Evening Sacrifice, it is a ſhrewd Sign, that his Mind hath but a ſmall Tincture of true Religion, and that he hath no great Regard to his own Function.

Upon theſe Occaſions Mr. *Bull* did not give himſelf the liberty of uſing Prayers of his own Compoſing, though he was very well qualified for what is called *extempore* Prayer, if he would have ventured upon ſuch a Preſumptuous Undertaking in Publick, for he had great Quickneſs of Thought, and could expreſs the deſires of his Soul in a very decent and affecting Manner; but he eſteemed the Praying by a Form, the ſafeſt and beſt Method to ſecure Devotion. Thoſe he uſed were either Compoſed by Biſhop *Taylor*, or, of late Years, were taken out of

of the *Common-Prayer-Book the beſt Companion*, and on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* the Litany Office. A Portion of Scripture was read at the ſame Time, and when the Nature of the Subject, or the Difficulty of the Place required it, he would Expound ſeveral Paſſages as they were read; and very often, after Prayers were ended before the Familiy was diſmiſt, he would make ſome Remarks upon them. A Method very Edifying, and tending to the Improvement of thoſe under his Care, which by degrees muſt enter them into the true Senſe of the Holy Scripture, and give them a right Taſte and Reliſh for thoſe Inſpired Writings. Upon Sunday Evenings there was the Addition of a Chapter out of that excellent Book, *The whole Duty of Man*, than which we have none more fit for general and conſtant Uſe; and this was for the farther Inſtruction of his Family, particularly of thoſe, who had been deprived of going to Church, by reaſon of the neceſſary Services of the Houſe.

His Conjugal Affection diſcovered itſelf not ſo much in fond Words and Expreſſions, as in performing all thoſe ſubſtantial Duties to which the Vow of Matrimony obligeth; in Conjugal Chaſtity, and in his tender Care of his Wife in times of Sickneſs, upon which Occaſions he never failed to expreſs the deepeſt Concern, and ſpared no Expence to procure her Recovery. His Paternal Love diſplayed itſelf in the Religious Education of his Children, he took care to

train them up in the Ways of Piety and Vertue, and brought them into an early acquaintance with the Principles of Chriſtianity; and did not neglect that Correction of them which his Nature was averſe to, but which his Reaſon and Judgment obliged him to comply with, as neceſſary to ſecure their Education. And therefore when he did not ſpare the Rod for the Good of his Child, he was ſure to ſuffer more Pain than what he inflicted. Beſides he beſtowed no ſmall Pains upon the Inſtruction of his Son, Mr. *George Bull*, who had few Equals for his Piety and Learning, of whom we ſhall have a ſorrowful Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; now he had little or no Teaching before he went to the Univerſity, but what he received from his Father. And though his Wife and Children were his principle Concern, yet his Servants were not neglected, for they were part of his Charge, and therefore he expected to be Accountable to God for them. If any in that Rank could not Read, he would aſſign one of the Family to be their Teacher, with Orders to inſtruct them in the Principles of Religion; whereby great Good was done to both, ſince there is a Reward prepared for the Charity of the Teacher, as well as for the Improvements of the Diſciple. The neglect of any of his own Affairs from his Servants, never provoked him ſo much as their abſence from Prayers in the Family; and nothing but abſolute Neceſſity was admitted as a juſtifiable Excuſe.

But

But the better to judge of the Character of his Devotion, we muſt enter with him into his Cloſet, and obſerve the Frame of his Mind in the common and ordinary Occurrences of Life. There is great reaſon to believe, that he was very frequent in his Private Prayers, and by his riſing early and going to Bed late, he ſecured Retirement ſufficient for that purpoſe. Beſides they who lay near his Study, made diſcoveries of that Nature from the Warmth and Fervour and Importunity uſed in his Spiritual Exerciſes, when he thought all the Family ſafe at reſt; and the way he took ſometimes to expreſs the Pious and Devout Affections of his Mind by Singing of Pſalms, made it more difficult to be concealed. It is true indeed, that he hath left no Compoſitions of this kind behind him, which maketh it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in his Cloſet he gave the deſires of his Soul a freer Vent, and that when he converſed with God alone, he preſented him with the natural Language of the Heart, which he chiefly regards; and how well he was fitted and qualified to perform this after an excellent manner, hath been already declared. And after all, he had ſo lively a Senſe of his own Inability to Diſcharge the important Duties of his Holy Function, and ſo great a Zeal to promote the Salvation of thoſe Souls, which were committed to his Charge, that it is not to be wondred if he was very earneſt with God in Private for the continual Sup- *His private Devotions.*

plies of his Grace to ſtrengthen and invigorate his beſt Endeavours, and that all his Flock might be filled with the Knowledge of God's Will in all Wiſdom and Spiritual Underſtanding, that they might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleaſing, being fruitful in every good Work, and encreaſing in the Knowledge of God. It is a true Obſervation of that judicious Prelate, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, * "That "the Kingdom of God muſt ſuffer Violence, "and that the People will not ordinarily be "brought into it without ſome Force: But "let me tell you, *ſaith that great Divine*, it "is not ſo much the Violence of the Pulpit "that doth the Deed, as the Violence of the "Cloſet." For though *Paul* planteth, and *Apollos* watereth, it is *God* that giveth the Increaſe. So that in order to make the Spiritual Building perfect, the wiſe Paſtor muſt be as inſtant with God to ſecure his Flock, as he is importunate with them to work out their own Salvation; he muſt without ceaſing Pray for them as well as Inſtruct them, whereby his Labours will bring more Comfort to himſelf, as well as more Profit to his Hearers.

The Pious Frame and Temper of his Mind.

The conſtant Frame and Temper of his Mind was ſo truly Devout, that he would frequently in the Day-time, as occaſion offered, uſe ſhort Prayers and Ejaculations, the natural Breathings of Pious Souls; and when

* *Vol. Serm. fol. p.* 464.

he

he was ſittting in ſilence in his Family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other Matters, he would often, with an inexpreſſible Air of great Seriouſneſs, lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and ſometimes drop Tears. And as a farther Evidence of this true Chriſtian Frame of Spirit, he took great delight in diſcourſing of the Things of God, particularly of his Love and Mercy in the daily Inſtances of his watchful Providence over poor Mankind, and the right uſe that ought to be made of it. He would often recount to thoſe he converſed with, the Wonders of Divine Goodneſs already vouchſafed to himſelf and his Friends; their happy and amazing Eſcapes out of ſeveral ſorts of Dangers, their unexpected good Succeſs, not without Rejoycing in the Lord; and inviting others to tell what God had done for them; of which he would make a noble Uſe by way of Religious Inference and Exhortation, till he made the Hearts of his Hearers burn within them. And indeed, they who can paſs all the Hours of their Converſation, which take up ſo great a part of their Lives, without making any Reflections of this Nature, for fear of the Laſh of of ſome ſcoffing Wits, who are apt to call it Canting; appear to me to want that Senſe of a Deity upon their Minds, which is neceſſary to make them Serious. I am ſure in all other Caſes where our Heads and Hearts are engaged, we Naturally diſcover it by our Tongues;

for *out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth ſpeaketh*; and it is difficult not to run into ſuch Diſcourſe as is ready prepared for us by the conſtant Application of our Thoughts. And therefore I think we may ſafely conclude, that whoever maketh Religion his main Buſineſs, and loveth God above all, cannot be better entertained in Converſation than by ſuch Topicks which tend to cultivate and promote Piety, and every thing that is Praiſeworthy; neither will ſuch an one readily omit any reaſonable Occaſion that offers itſelf to advance and inſtil the Senſe of Religion into the Minds of others.

His ſinging of Pſalms in his Private Devotions.

Before I quit this Head of his Private Devotions, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that Singing the Praiſes of God, made a Part of his Spiritual Exerciſes in his Retirement, which he choſe to Celebrate in the Words of the Royal *Pſalmiſt*, as Tranſlated into Metre for that Purpoſe. A Duty recommended by St. *Paul* in ſeveral of his Epiſtles; and yet how few can be prevailed upon to join in Pſalmody, when it is made a Part of the Publick Service of the Church? And ſtill there are a fewer who perform it with that Intenſeneſs of Mind, and Application of Thought, and Reverence of Poſture, as ſuch a Solemn Part of Worſhip requireth from us; where the great Majeſty of Heaven and Earth is the Object we addreſs to, and where the Acknowledgment of his infinite Perfections, and Thankfulneſs for the Mercies

we

we receive, is the Worſhip we deſign to Pay. It is very fit indeed, that this part of the Publick Service ſhould have all the Advantage imaginable of agreeable Harmony, conſiſting both in Voices and Muſical Inſtruments, becauſe we ought to offer to God that which is moſt Excellent in its kind. But however it muſt be remembered, that theſe are only to be uſed as Helps to raiſe our Souls to a higher pitch of Devotion, and are of no Value in the Sight of God, any farther than they expreſs the Gratitude of our Hearts; for if we permit our ſelves to dwell too much upon the Skill of the Performance, and ſuffer our Minds by the Pleaſure of the Ear to be carried away from a ſerious Attention to the Matter, the Religious Worſhip of it will begin to ſink, and though there may be Melody in the Compoſition, yet by this means there will be none in the Heart, which God chiefly regards. But the Generality of thoſe who do not joyn in the Singing of *Pſalms*, and who are otherwiſe very Serious, excuſe themſelves from the bad Poetry of the old Verſion, wherein there are ſeveral old Words uſed which are now out of Date, and ſeveral odd Phraſes that give them great Offence. Now though this Objection doth affect only ſome Parts of the Verſion if it ſhould be allowed to have its full weight, yet Certainly it is no great Argument of a devout Mind, to be diverted by little Things from a Duty ſubſtantially good in itſelf.

But

The ſinging Pſalms of the old Verſion defended by Biſhop Beveridge.

But notwithſtanding theſe Objections, the excellent Biſhop *Beveridge* hath defended the *Old* Verſion in a particular * Diſcourſe upon that Subject; and after having impartially weighed it and compared it with the *New*, giveth it by much the Preference; as keeping cloſer to the Senſe of the Original Text, and by being Compoſed in a plain and low Style, as lying more level to the Capacities of the Common People, who are far the greateſt Part of the Kingdom. That as to the old Words, they are few, and eaſily explained, and purely *Engliſh*; whereas the Style of the New Verſion is much more unintelligible to the Vulgar, by a great mixture of Words derived from the *Latin*, *French* and *Greek*, and often rather a Paraphraſe upon the Text than the Text itſelf. And I wiſh the Authority of this great Man may prevail as much now he is Dead, as his Example did while alive, in this matter which we are now conſidering; for I have with pleaſure beheld the Conformity of the whole Congregation to his own Devout Practice, who conſtantly ſtood with Reverence while he Sung the Praiſes of God; and when he went into the Pulpit, he neither altered his Poſture, nor forbore to joyn with the Congregation till the *Pſalm* was finiſhed.

* A Defence of the Book of *Pſalms*, Collected into *Engliſh* Metre by *Thomas Sternhold*, *John Hopkins*, and others, with Critical Obſervations on the New Verſion compared with the Old. Printed for *R. Smith*, 1710.

And

And now I have named this great and good Man I cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable Diſpenſation of Providence to the Age in which we Live, in Bleſſing it with ſo many of thoſe Pious Diſcourſes, which this truly Primitive Prelate delivered from the Pulpit; And I the rather take the Liberty to call it a favourable Diſpenſation of Providence, becauſe he gave no Orders himſelf that they ſhould be Printed; but humbly neglected them, as not being Compoſed for the Preſs. But this Circumſtance is ſo far from abating the Worth of the Sermons, or diminiſhing the Character of the Author, that to me it ſeemeth to raiſe the Excellency of both; becauſe it ſheweth at once the true Nature of a popular Diſcourſe, and the great Talent this Prelate had that way. For to improve the Generality of Hearers, they muſt be taught all the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, and the Holy Inſtitutions belonging to it; ſince it is upon this true Foundation that the Practice of Chriſtian Vertues muſt be Built, to make them acceptable in the Sight of God. And then all this muſt be delivered to the People in ſo plain and intelligible a Style, that they may eaſily comprehend it; and it muſt be addreſſed to them in ſo affecting and moving a manner, that their Paſſions may be winged to a vigorous Proſecution of what is Taught. If I miſtake not, the Sermons of this Learned Biſhop anſwer this Character; and I am confirmed in this Opinion by the Judgment of

The Character of his Sermons.

of thoſe who are allowed to have the greateſt Talents for the Pulpit, as well as for all other Parts of Learning. He had a way of gaining Peoples Hearts, and touching their Conſciences, which bore ſome Reſemblance to the Apoſtolical Age; and when it ſhall appear that thoſe bright Preachers, who have been ready to throw Contempt upon his Lordſhip's Performances, can ſet forth as large a Liſt of Perſons whom they have Converted by their Preaching, as I could produce of thoſe who owed the Change of their Lives, under God, to the Chriſtian Inſtructions of this pious Prelate, I ſhall readily own that they are ſuperior to his Lordſhip in the Pulpit. Though conſidering what Learned Works he Publiſhed in the Cauſe of Religion, and what an Eminent Pattern he was of true Primitive Piety, I am not inclined to think, that his Lordſhip will, upon the whole of his Character, be eaſily equalled by any one- But to proceed,

XV. In the governing this Pariſh of *Suddington*, Mr. *Bull* obſerved the ſame Method which he had preſcribed to himſelf in that of St. *George*'s near *Briſtol*, which hath been already mentioned. And certainly nothing could better anſwer the End and Deſign of his Function than a conſtant Watch over the Conduct of his Flock; that the Seed he ſowed in ſuch Plenty, might not be ſcattered by the Winds of violent Temptations,

Mr. Bull's *manner of governing this Pariſh.*

tations, nor be deſtroyed by the evil One who goeth about *ſeeking whom he may devour*. This Perſonal Acquaintance of a Miniſter with his Pariſhioners will give him a great Advantage in forwarding their Spiritual Welfare, provided it is chiefly employed to that Purpoſe. For beſides that Profit which redoundeth to them from the thing itſelf, this Tender and Compaſſionate Regard towards the People, will create in them a great Love for his Perſon, and a chearful Attendance upon his Miniſtry, which are admirable Diſpoſitions to prepare the Mind for Inſtruction. And I think no Man ought to be deterred from attempting this, becauſe ſome inconſiderate Minds Cenſure it as an Affectation of Popularity; for to endeavour to procure the Love and good Will of the Pariſhioners, is ſo far from being a Fault in a Pariſh-Prieſt, that I look upon it as his Duty, it being the likelieſt Means to make his Labours among them Effectual. All the Miſchief of Popularity is, when Men betray their Conſciences rather then diſpleaſe Men, and Sacrifice their Duty to the Breath of the People, when, by mean and unworthy Arts, they court that Applauſe which is only due to Merit; and rather than forfeit the Favour of the Lord of a Manor, comply with him in his Follies, and yield to his Sacrilegious Incroachments. But there is no Danger that a Clergyman, who underſtandeth the weight of his Employment, and hath a Zeal for the Salvation

tion of Souls, will ever vouchſafe to be Popular upon ſuch Terms.

But to excite all the Parochial Clergy to this Watchfulneſs over the Conduct of their Flock; they have a Pattern of it in the High-Prieſt of our Profeſſion, the Bleſſed Jeſus, who with particular Aſſiduity applied himſelf to form and preſerve thoſe Diſciples which his Father had committed to his Care. He lived among them, ſupporting all their Weakneſs, and compaſſionating their Infirmities; he inſtructed them in Publick and in Private, and hid no Truth from them which might be profitable for them, and which they were able to bear. He hardly ſuffered them out of his ſight but when he retired into ſome Solitude, and then he remembered them in his Prayers. This Love and Care of his Diſciples appeared not only in thoſe his Addreſſes to Heaven, which preceded his Paſſion, but when he was delivered into the Hands of his Enemies, he ſeemed to forget himſelf in reſpect of them, *If you ſeek me*, ſaith he, *let theſe go their way*; as if he had been concerned for nothing ſo much as the Preſervation of his Diſciples; notwithſtanding his Bonds, and the Violence of his Perſecutors, he did not forget his chief Apoſtle, but reached forth his Hand to raiſe him from his unhappy Fall, fulfilling to the laſt thoſe Words of Scripture, *Having loved his own, he loved them unto the end.*

While

While Mr. *Bull* was Rector of *Suddington* the Providence of God gave him an Opportunity of fixing Two Ladies of Quality, in that Neighbourhood, in the Protestant Communion; who had been reduced to a very wavering State of Mind, by the Arts and Subtleties of some *Romish* Missionaries. Their specious Pretences to Antiquity were easily detected by this great Master of the Ancient Fathers; and by his thorough Acquaintance with Scripture, and the Sense of the Catholick Church, in Matters of the greatest Importance, he was able to distinguish between Primitive Truths, and those Errors which the Church of *Rome* built upon them. He had frequent Conferences with both these Ladies, and answered those Objections which appeared to them to have the greatest Strength, and by which they were very near falling from their Stedfastness; for one of them he Writ a small Treatise, which she had Requested from him, but no Copy of it is to be found among those Papers he left behind him; nothing remaineth of it but the Remembrance that it was Written, and that he did thereby succeed in Establishing the Lady in the Communion of the Church of *England*. Both the Ladies always owned with the greatest Sense of Gratitude this signal Service they received from the Learning and Capacity of Mr. *Bull*. None can well apprehend how grievous a State of Human Life Doubt is, in Matters of Consequence, but they who feel it; and there-

He confirms two Ladies that were wavering in their Religion.

therefore no wonder if they bleſt that happy Inſtrument, by which freſh Light was conveyed into their Minds, and thoſe Uncertainties cleared up which they laboured under in reference to Matters of the greateſt Moment. The Method indeed they took was prudent and Chriſtian, to ſeek for Knowledge at thoſe Lips which are appointed to preſerve it, and to bring their Doubts to their own Paſtors before they ſubmit to the Authority of others. And I queſtion not but for this Reaſon, among many, God thought fit to give them the Satisfaction they ſought for; and if others who are Aſſaulted after this Manner would take the ſame Courſe, I doubt not but that they would find the ſame Succeſs.

A ridiculous Story of a Quaker's Challenge.

The only Diſſenters he had in this Pariſh were Quakers, who reſiſted all the Endeavours he made to bring them into the Church, for they were as Obſtinate as they were Ignorant; who by their Impertinent and Extravagant Manner cauſed him often no ſmall Uneaſineſs. And of this Number was one who was a Preacher among them, who would frequently accoſt Mr. *Bull*; and once more particularly ſaid he, *George, as for Human Learning I ſet no Value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee.* Upon which Mr. *Bull* willing to correct his Confidence, and to ſhew him how unable he was to ſupport his Pretenſions, anſwered him, *Come on then, Friend.* So opening the Bible, which lay before them, he

he fell upon the Book of *Proverbs*; *Seeſt thou, Friend*, ſaid he, Solomon *ſaith in one Place*, Anſwer a Fool according to his Folly; *and in another Place*, Anſwer not a Fool according to his Folly; *how doſt thou reconcile theſe Two Texts of Scripture? Why*, ſaid the Preacher, Solomon *don't ſay ſo*; to which Mr. *Bull* replyed, *Ay, but he doth.* And turning to the Places he ſoon convinced him; upon which the Quaker hereat being much out of Countenance, ſaid, *Why then* Solomon's *a Fool*; which ended the Controverſy.

His Charity to the Poor and Indigent.

As Mr. *Bull* was intent upon the Spiritual Welfare of his Pariſhioners, by performing the Part of a diligent and pious Paſtor among them; ſo he was not leſs concerned to relieve their Temporal Wants when the Neceſſities of the Poor required his Aſſiſtance. He had not the leaſt Tincture of Covetouſneſs in his Temper; Hoſpitable he was to all his Neighbours, and they never wanted Relief who were known to him to ſtand in need of it. When he viſited any poor ſick Family, his Prayers and his Alms went ever together upon thoſe Occaſions. He would ſend largely to poor Houſe-keepers in the Time of their Diſtreſs, when they were viſited with Sickneſs, or had ſuſtained any great Loſs. But the Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, who were unprovided for, were the conſtant Objects of his Care and Concern; he uſually gave liberally himſelf, and was very active in procuring

Charities from the Gentry in the Neighbourhood upon ſuch Occaſions; and his Character was ſo valued among Perſons of the beſt Figure, that he ſeldom ſolicited the Cauſe of the Poor, but they found the Benefit of ſuch an Advocate. His particular Method in doing good for a great part of his Time conſiſted in keeping Poor Children at School; he was very ſenſible of the Advantages which attend that Sort of Charity; ſo that where the Parents were Poor, he became a Father to their Children in the Care of ſuch an Education, which was not only of uſe to them in the World, but very Inſtrumental in promoting their Eternal Salvation.

His Sentiments upon Charity.

His uſual Diſcourſe upon this Subject was, That when we give to the Poor, we do good to our ſelves; not ſo much becauſe God is ſometimes pleaſed to Bleſs our Charity with an Increaſe of our earthly Subſtance, as becauſe they who abound in good Works acquire an Intereſt in the Prayers and Benedictions of the Poor, which he was perſuaded did prevent them from falling into many Dangers in this Life, and were of mighty Prevalence with God, through the Merits of Chriſt, toward their Eternal Salvation and Admiſſion into his Heavenly Kingdom. He would ſtrengthen the firſt Part of his Propoſition with the Authority of St. *Jerome*, from the following Paſſage *, "I do not remem-

* *Non memini me legiſſe malâ morte mortuum qui libenter opera Charitatis exercuit; habet enim multos Intercеſſores, & impoſſibile eſt multorum preces non exaudiri.*

" ber

" ber (ſaith he) that I ever read, that any " one who abounded in Acts of Charity, and " was glad to diſtribute, dyed an evil Death " or came to a bad End; for ſuch a Man hath " many Interceſſors, and it is impoſſible that " the Prayers of many ſhould not be granted. The latter part he grounded upon the Words of our Saviour, *And I ſay unto you, make to your ſelves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlaſting Habitations*, Luke xvi. *ver.* 9. which he Interpreted after this manner. " By " the Riches beſtowed in Almſgiving make " the Poor your Friends, that when you fail, " *i. e.* die, they, the Poor which you have " made your Friends, may receive you into " Everlaſting Habitations; that is, that God " looking upon the Alms-deeds you have done, " and hearing the Prayers and Bleſſings of " the Poor, may reward you with Eternal " Life, according to his Promiſe. He would be very angry with thoſe People who pleaded Scripture for ſtinting their Charity, abuſing that Sacred Text, 1 *Tim.* v. *ver.* 8. *But if any provide not for his own, eſpecially thoſe of his own Houſe, he hath denied the Faith, and is worſe than an Infidel.* The occaſion of which Words, he would ſay, was this, *viz.* " There " was a Bank of charitable Collections in the " Houſe of the Biſhop, out of which the A- " poſtle appointed the Poor Widows to be re- " lieved, when he ſaith, *Honour Widows, that*

" *are Widows indeed*; that is, Relieve and Maintain them; but he would not have them caſt " upon the Charity of the Church, if they " had Relations of their own, who were able " to Maintain them, *ver.* 4. and ſaith, that " thoſe who neglected ſo to do were worſe than " Infidels. So that he would ſay, this Text " made againſt covetous People, who were " moſt apt to neglect their poor Relations: " That it did require Charity to poor Rela- " tions, but gave no manner of Countenance " to thoſe miſerable Worldlings, who did covet " and keep all to themſelves in order to enrich " and raiſe their Families.

XVI. *His only Diverſion, agreeable Converſation.*

I cannot find that after he entered into Holy Orders, that he was ever addicted to any innocent Pleaſure, which is often neceſſary to unbend the Mind, and to preſerve the Body in Health and Vigour. If there was any thing that looked like a Diverſion, it was the Enjoyment of agreeable Converſation; the beſt that Neighbourhood afforded, he was always Maſter of, becauſe he was a welcome Gueſt where-ever he made any Viſits. But what he chiefly loved, was, to receive Learned and Good Men at his own Houſe, eſpecially thoſe of his own Profeſſion; and they could never entertain him better than by ſupporting the Converſation with Enquiries into Subjects of Divinity, or of any other Part of Learning. For the compaſs of his Knowledge was ſo Extenſive,

tenſive, eſpecially in all Parts of Theology, that he never ſeemed to be ſurprized with any Queſtion of that Nature; but could immediately, and upon the Spot, without the leaſt heſitation, give a pertinent and a full Anſwer to it: His Notions were ſo diſtinct and clear, that he could bring down the Sublimeſt Truths to ordinary Capacities, and ſet the moſt abſtruſe Points in ſo good a Light, that you might eaſily and at once ſee through them. Some Learned Men, who have been very eminent for their Improvements in all Sorts of Knowledge, have nevertheleſs converſed with ſo much reſerve, that they have ſeemed to grudge the World the leaſt Fruit of their Labours: But Mr. *Bull* better underſtood the Uſe he was obliged to make of thoſe Talents which God had committed to his Truſt; and he did gladly communicate his Thoughts to all thoſe who had the happineſs to Converſe with him; for where he could not learn, he delighted to make others wiſer and better; and he was always ready to give Light to any obſcure Paſſage of Scripture, to confirm any Point of Faith, and to repreſent any Truth of the Chriſtian Religion to the beſt Advantage. And what farther enabled him to ſhine in Converſation, was, his extraordinary Candor and Modeſty, whereby he never provoked thoſe to expoſe their Imperfections who deſired Information from him, but took the firſt Opportunity to

remove their Ignorance, without ſeeming to take notice of it.

He proſecutes his Studies with great Application.

To ſay the truth, Mr. *Bull*'s chief Delight was in his Books, and his Study was the Scene of his moſt exquiſite Pleaſure; and he would freely own, with great Aſſurance, that he taſted the moſt refined Satisfaction in the Purſuit of Knowledge that the preſent State of Human Nature was capable of; and that when his Thoughts were lively and lucky in his Compoſitions, he found no reaſon to envy the Enjoyment of the moſt voluptuous Epicure. His Courſe indeed of Study proved prejudicial to his Health, becauſe he dedicated the greateſt part of the Night to that purpoſe for many Years together, and contented himſelf with little Sleep, riſing early and going to Bed late. But no extraordinary Attainments are acquired without Labour and Pains, and the reaſon why he choſe theſe Hours for that purpoſe, was becauſe he ſecured thereby, what he could not otherwiſe promiſe himſelf, an entire Freedom from Noiſe and Diſturbance, and from all the Interruptions of Buſineſs and Company. It is to this conſtant Application of Mind that we owe thoſe learned and judicious Treatiſes which Mr. *Bull* Publiſhed in his Lifetime; for during the Twenty-ſeven Years he was Rector of *Suddington*, he Compoſed moſt of them; as well as thoſe Sermons and Diſcourſes which are now offered to the Conſideration of the Publick.

It is to be lamented indeed, that ſome Part of his Labour is periſhed, and that ſeveral ſmaller Tracts which coſt him much Pains are entirely loſt. It was too uſual with him, from a modeſt Opinion of his own Performances, when he had finiſhed a Work of Conſequence, to be negligent in the Preſervation of it; and if he Lent it out to be peruſed by a Neighbour, he ſeldom remembred to call upon him to return it, if the Borrower neglected to bring it back. It is thought, that ſeveral Sermons that were finiſhed by him are loſt after this manner. There was a ſhort Treatiſe which the Chriſtian Reader, who hath a Veneration for Primitive Antiquity, will very much regret, and which was Compoſed by Mr. *Bull*, in Anſwer to this Queſtion, *viz. What was the Poſture of Communicating in the Bleſſed Sacrament before the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was received in the Church?* In his Reply, he proved from Antiquity, that the Practice in the moſt Ancient Times was for the Communicants to draw near to the *Bema* or Chancel, and there to receive the Sacred Elements from the Hands of the Prieſt, in a Bowing or adoring Poſture. This was Writ at the Requeſt of his Dioceſan, Biſhop *Frampton*, who ſat with great Reputation for many Years in the Epiſcopal Chair of *Gloceſter*, but choſe rather to loſe his Biſhoprick, and the reſt of his Preferments, than Sacrifice the Peace of his own Mind, or comply with ſuch

Several Tracts Compoſed by him loſt.

Terms which his Conſcience could not digeſt. And as it was Compoſed at the Deſire of his Biſhop, ſo in Oppoſition to thoſe who have taken the Liberty to aſſert, that none beſides a Table-poſture was uſed till the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was firſt introduced into the Church; which is ſo contrary to the Practice of all Antiquity, that it is certain, that Anciently it was not permitted to any Perſon whatſoever, except the Emperor only when he made his Oblation, to go into the Altar-part of the Church during the time of Divine Service, which was then Termed the *Sanctuarium*, and is now by us called the Chancel. And accordingly St. *Ambroſe* would not permit the Emperor *Theodoſius* himſelf to Communicate † in this part, but obliged him to retire as ſoon as he had made his Oblation at the Altar.

When Dr. *Pearſon* was about vindicating the Epiſtles of that Apoſtolical Biſhop and Martyr St. *Ignatius*, and ſome time before he Publiſhed his admirable Treatiſe upon that Subject, Mr. *Bull*, though very Young, wrote a long Letter to him in *Latin*, containing many excellent Obſervations and ſolid Arguments to prove, that thoſe Epiſtles were genuine. Dr. *Pearſon* returned him a large Anſwer in the ſame learned Language; wherein he gave him ample Thanks for the Pains he had taken

† *Vid. Theodor. lib.* v. *c.* 18. *Sozom. lib.* vii. *c.* 25.

upon

upon that Subject; acknowledged the great Uſefulneſs of his Obſervations, and the Strength of his Arguments. This Anſwer and the former Tract were Read by Mr. Archdeacon *Stephens*, Son-in-Law to Biſhop *Bull*, and preſent Rector of *Suddington*, many Years ago; a Perſon very conſiderable for his Piety and Learning; and it is to him I owe the preceding Account of the Contents of them; but they are not now to be found. He wrote beſides this a long Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, formerly Miniſter of *Bath*, concerning the Eternity of future Puniſhments; and another upon the Subject of Popery, to a Perſon of great Quality; but nothing remaineth concerning them, but that they were wrote. Many other conſiderable Letters of Mr. *Bull*'s, and Anſwers to them, would have entertained the Reader very agreeably, if he had not been too intent upon his Studies to Copy the one, and too negligent to preſerve the others.

XVII. *He Publiſhed his firſt Book called* Harmonia Apoſtolica, &c.

In the Year 1669, he firſt Printed that excellent Piece, his * *Apoſtolical Harmony, &c.* which was begun by him, when but Young, with a View to ſettle Peace in the Church, upon a Point of the greateſt Importance to all its Members. This Book he dedicated to his Dioceſan the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, Dr. *William Nicholſon*, a very pro-

* *Harmonia Apoſtolica ſeu binæ diſſertationes quarum in priore Doctrina D. Jacobi de Juſtificatione ex operibus explanatur ac defenditur; in poſteriore conſenſus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonſtratur, &c.*

per

per Judge and Patron, who had very much alſo encouraged and ſupported him in this Work; for he was not willing, but with the Approbation and Direction of his Superior under God, to adventure into the World upon an Undertaking ſo difficult and hazardous as this did appear. And ſince this Treatiſe tendeth ſo much to clear the Doctrine of the Apoſtles in the *Fundamental Point* of our Salvation, and to ſhew the exact Harmony betwixt them, as to the *manner* of obtaining it by Chriſt; and will alſo be of no ſmall Uſe for the Reading St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles with Underſtanding; I ſhall beg leave to lay before the Reader a diſtinct Plan of the whole; as likewiſe the Cauſes of Writing it, and the Treatment and Succeſs it met with, and the ſeveral Batteries that have been raiſed againſt it; that they that are otherwiſe minded, may at leaſt have no reaſon to complain, as if they were not fairly repreſented.

An Account of this Book. Though this Piece was not Printed till the Year aforeſaid, yet it appeareth to have been * Written Eight or Nine Years before; whereby the firſt Riſe and Deſign of it will be more clearly manifeſt, than it could have been, had we not known in what a notable Juncture of our Affairs the ſame was compoſed. For there having been, during the unhappy Times of the *Great Rebellion*, a vaſt Multitude of

* *Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. Sect.* 8. *N.* 5.

Books

Books written upon the Subject of *Juſtification*, by the hot Men of the ſeveral Parties, ſome of whom in Treating of it leaned too much to Popery or to Judaiſm, others to Antinomianiſm and Libertiniſm, ſome again to Pelagianiſm and Socinianiſm, and others, laſtly, to Manichæiſm and Fataliſm; the Four moſt dangerous Extremes: And abundance of Learned Sophiſtry having been uſed in perplexing the plain and natural Senſe of the Divinely inſpired Writers; and ſeveral Hypotheſes moreover invented purely to ſerve a Turn, which did but the more ſtill obſcure what they pretended to clear up, and ſet at a wider diſtance thoſe whom they laboured to reconcile by their ſtrained and Metaphyſical Subtleties; they not only diſagreeing about what was meant by *Juſtification*, but even by *Faith* and by *Works*, and indeed about every Term that is made uſe of either by St. *Paul* or by St. *James* when they ſpeak to this Point: And ſo feigning one Apoſtle to write concerning a *Firſt*, and the other concerning a *Second* Juſtification; or elſe one concerning a Juſtification before *Men* only, and the other concerning the ſame before *God*; one concerning a *true*, the other concerning a *falſe* Faith; with a Multitude of other groundleſs Inventions, utterly foreign to the Minds of both the ſaid Apoſtles, and many fooliſh Conteſts about Words that could have no other End but to raiſe a Duſt; there could nothing come forth more ſeaſonably,

ably, if well done, than a Treatiſe of this Nature.

The Cauſes and Motives of his Writing it.

Wherefore there having been ſuch a fierce Contention raiſed concerning this Article, by the Writers of Controverſy, for about Twenty Years of Confuſion in Church and State, not to mention what had paſſed before that Time in other Countries; our Author having been then about Five Years in Holy Orders, according to the Church of *England*, when by the Reſtoration of the Right Heir to ſit on the Throne of his Father, the Church with him was reſtored to her former Rights; though he then wanted above Three Years of Thirty, thought it, however, Time for him now to fix his Principles, by going up to the very Source, and by taking a fair Review, according to the Holy Scriptures and Primitive Antiquity, of ſuch a Point, as had evidently contributed to ſeveral great Revolutions, not only in the Church, but alſo in the ‖ Kingdoms and States of the World; and might, he thought, yet contribute to more: And a Point alſo which was of the utmoſt Conſequence to be rightly underſtood for the guidance of Conſcience.

A particular Obligation laid upon him, to conſider this Controverſy.

To the Conſideration of which he was ſtill in a more particular manner engaged by certain Circumſtances of Life; for among the firſt Flock that was committed to his Charge at St *George*'s near *Briſtol*, there were not a few

‖ *Vid. Tull. Epiſt. ded. ad Juſtifi. Pauli, & Sleidan Com. &c.*

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wandring Sheep, which had been miſled into ſtrange Paths, through their not underſtanding the Terms of the Evengelical Covenant, who by the unwarrantable Confidence of falſe intruding Shepherds were in the extremeſt Danger of being loſt. Whence the very firſt Occaſion of this Diſcourſe I gather, from his *Premonition to the Reader*, to have been a Sermon Preached by him againſt the prevailing Antinomian Opinions, upon St. *James* ii. *ver.* 24. by which Means he was afterwards led gradually to a deeper Inquiry concerning this Matter.

His Preparation for writing it.

Whereupon he read over the New Teſtament, but more eſpecially the Epiſtles, with this View, conſulting the ableſt Commentators as he went along, and weighing their Arguments indifferently, without Reſpect to the Party, or Communion they lived in. And ſtill, for farther Satisfaction of what was believed by the Primitive Chriſtians, in this great Concern for obtaining a Title to Eternal Happineſs, he omitted not to conſult the beſt Writers of Antiquity and venerable Lights of the Church. With the ſame View was the Liturgy, the Articles, and the Homilies of our Church read by him; and diligently compared with their eſtabliſhed Rule, the *written Word of God*, together with the truly Ancient and Catholick Interpretations thereof. This let him into ſeveral other Controverſies, as depending upon this, and particularly obliged him

him to a Survey of the Times of Reformation, and of the Methods that were then taken both at Home and Abroad, as alſo of the principal Characters of the firſt Reformers; and being thus qualified, he ſet himſelf thoroughly to re-examine this Cauſe, which gave Birth to the Reformation.

The Method which he took in collecting Materials.

Upon this Review then of the Controverſy, as it ſtood both betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants, and between Proſtants one among another, he, for his own Satisfaction, digeſted under proper Places or Heads, all that he could find material in any of them, relating to this Evangelical Diſpenſation. And this he did not only that he might form a right Judgment upon them, but that he might be more capable of diſcharging the Duty of his Place, and of bringing in ſome others likewiſe to the Diſcernment and Acknowledgment of the Truth; which was hereby made ſo very clear to him.

How he came to write in Latin.

But being ſenſible that too much had been written in *Engliſh* upon this Subject; and that moſt of what was written was to little Purpoſe, except to divide and diſtract People's Minds; he therefore drew up in *Latin* a ſhort *Harmony of the Apoſtles* as to this Head, that it might be thoroughly conſidered by the Men of Learning and Capacity, reaſonably ſuppoſing, that if they were ſet right in this great Article, it would be more eaſily propagated among the Vulgar and Unlearned. For this End,

End, he ſubmitted his Performance to the Cenſure of his learned Friends, and (as in Duty he thought himſelf chiefly bound) particularly to his worthy Dioceſan; which at length after mature Deliberation upon the whole, and thinking it over and over again many times, he put his laſt Hand to, being then in the Thirty-ſixth Year of his Age, and ſo ſent it abroad into the World with their Approbation, that it might ſerve as a Manuduction to the Candidates of Divinity, who were to be ſet apart to inſtruct others.

XVIII. *The general Scope and Deſign of this Treatiſe.*

This Book conſiſteth of Two Parts or Diſſertations; the firſt of theſe Explaineth and Defendeth the Doctrine of St. *James*; and the other clearly, I think, demonſtrates the Agreement and Harmony of St. *Paul* with him, in this Fundamental Point of our Faith and Hope. But more Particularly his Aim and Deſign in the *firſt Diſſertation* is to ſhew, "That Good "Works which proceed from Faith, and are "conjoyned with Faith, are a neceſſary Con-"dition required from us by God, to the End "that by the New and Evangelical Covenant "obtained by and Sealed in the Blood of Chriſt "the Mediator of it, we may be juſtifyed ac-"cording to his free and unmerited Grace. For it is obſervable, that he every-where throughout this Treatiſe openly renounceth all Pretence to any manner of Merit of our own Works; even ſo far as ſcarce to acknowledge that Perſon

ſon for a Chriſtian who ſhould advance or defend Merit, properly ſo called; and nothing can indeed be more plain, than that in the whole Affair of our Salvation, and Proceſs of Divine Juſtification, he attributeth all to the meritorious Obedience of the Holy Jeſus, as the Bleſſed Author and Finiſher of it. Of which Obedience, his moſt Precious Death, is, by our moſt excellent *Harmoniſt*, declared to be the Conſummation and utmoſt Completion: And to it are here aſcribed the very greateſt and higheſt Things, that it was even poſſible for him to expreſs. More particularly,

His great Caution in treating this Point of Juſtification.

Of this meritorious Obedience of Chriſt for us Sinners, he plainly and roundly ſays, That this *alone* hath given Satisfaction to the Divine Juſtice; that this alone rendereth the moſt Holy and moſt Righteous God propitious to ſinful Men; and that this alone is the efficacious Cauſe of God's promiſing and offering us Pardon and Eternal Life upon ſo very reaſonable and equitable a Condition, as in the Goſpel is ſet forth. And he conſtantly moreover teacheth, both in the very Treatiſe and in the Apology for it, "That no Man can, without Divine "Grace, and the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, "as flowing forth from the precious Side of "the Crucifyed Jeſus, perform the Condition "of the Goſpel-Covenant. And, in a Word, he moſt ſeverely Anathematizes the *Pelagian* Hereſy, as it is revived by the Socinians and others, for derogating from the Grace of God, and

and aſcribing too much to the Power of Man as in his fallen Eſtate: And moſt frequently celebrates the Praiſe of this Divine Grace ſo perfectly according to the Mind of St. *Paul*, and the Declaration of the Church of *England*, both in her Articles and Homilies, as it may well be doubted whether any one can do it more.

The Diſſatisfaction of ſome Proteſtant Divines hereupon.

Notwithſtanding all which Caution yet of his, in the treating of this Point, that had been rendered ſo abſtruſe, more by the laborious Diſputations of Divines, than by the Nature of the thing itſelf, or of the Revelation concerning it; there was preſently no ſmall Alarm both *in* the Church and *out* of it, from Mr. *Bull*'s Performance, as if the Church of *England* and the whole *Proteſtant* Religion were by it, *in Danger*. For his departing herein from the private Opinions of ſome Doctors of our Church, though in Obedience to her *Rule*, was by ſeveral interpreted for no leſs than a departing from the Faith by her delivered; and his Method of reconciling the *Two Apoſtles of our Lord*, how plain ſoever in itſelf, could not be made ſo plain, but that many being zealouſly affected for the Names of *Luther* and *Calvin*, whom they honoured as the *Two Apoſtles of the Reformation*, would be ready to take Offence at it; as the Event indeed proved.

The Occaſion and Grounds of this Diſſatisfaction.

Since upon an impartial Enquiry into the Grounds of this Offence taken, it evidently appeared, that this was the very chief Stone

of ſtumbling, *viz.* The Honour of the *Firſt Reformers*. And it ſeemeth, moreover, that this Eſſay for Union, by taking the *middle way*, could not pleaſe any of thoſe zealous Gentlemen, who never can think themſelves ſafe enough from one Extreme without they run into the other. Some there were more wiſe and learned then the reſt, who yet approved it not, that they might not appear guilty of innovating, as they called it. And it could not be digeſted by them either becauſe it was not at firſt ſo very perfectly underſtood by ſeveral of our own Divines, any more than by the Diſſenters from our Communion, as moſt of the Presbyterians, and many Independents and Anabaptiſts; or elſe becauſe the Prejudices which a great many worthy Perſons among us had ſucked in from the narrow Syſtems of *modern Divinity* or otherwiſe, who had, during the great Rebellion in Church and State, been educated in the Predeſtinarian and Antinomian Notions, were too ſtrong for them entirely to overcome, even with the help of the cleareſt Light.

The Judgment of the Church of England variouſly repreſented.

Hence in the ſame Year there aroſe in the Church no ſmall Contention, whether this Interpretation of Scripture were conformable to the Articles of Religion, and the Homily of Juſtification therein referred to; ſome maintained with our Author that it was; ſome doubted about it, and others downright denyed it, and condemned it as Heretical. There was

was many a hard Cenſure paſſed upon the Book and the Author for ſome Time, which is not to be wondered at; yea, there were not wanting then even Men of ſome Eminence in our Church, who with all their Might oppoſed him, probably out of a well-meant Zeal, and would certainly have overwhelmed him and his Doctrine, had it been poſſible.

The Effect which this Contention produced.

But ſuch, it appears, was the Strength and Evidence of his Arguments, after the ſevereſt Examination that could be made of them, as he daily won more and more Friends to his Side; and the greatneſs of the Oppoſition againſt him did but the more contribute to eſtabliſh the Truth, among all the ſober and candid Enquirers after it; which could be only oppoſed becauſe not rightly apprehended and ſtated. And how Succeſsfully he hath done this, I ſhall leave the Reader to conſider, not from the imperfect *Abſtract* which is here given, but from the Effects they have manifeſtly produced, and that general Conviction which hath commonly followed the *Harmony* itſelf, with the *Apology* for it. Some of the Effects I may have hereafter Occaſion to mention. So that it ſhall here ſuffice to obſerve, in ſhort, that they of the *Engliſh* Clergy, who were the leaſt favourable to it, became the greateſt Promoters of it, while by all their Endeavours to ſuppreſs it, they made it effectually to ſpread the more, when the Matter came to be duly

and impartially ſcanned without thoſe Metaphyſical Niceties, which have only ſerved to perplex a Cauſe that might be underſtood without them. The Opinion of ſome private Doctors was at this Time artfully cryed up for the *Judgment of the Church of* England; and an Expoſition was given to ſome of her *Articles*, even againſt her own authentick Interpretation of them, to be ſtill at a greater Diſtance from the Church of *Rome*.

The Advantage by it to Mr. Bull's *Cauſe.*

The beſt of it is, this Contention was of no long Continuance: For not long after this Treatiſe was Printed and received with much Applauſe on one ſide, and Contradiction on the other; the Senſe of the Church of *England*, as it is founded upon the Word of God, came to be cleared up, by the Care and Diligence of thoſe who were excited hereby, much better than ever it had been before: And by the ſober manner of treating this Controverſy in both theſe Diſſertations, and the Author's moſt ſerious Proteſtation and Appeal to Heaven, it pleaſed God to cool, by degrees, the Minds of ſome, which had been heated about this Matter over-much, through the Intemperance of a truly laudable Concern for the Victory of Faith: And to win over others intirely to the Acknowledgment of the Truth, which is according to Righteouſneſs and Godlineſs, who had been before but too averſe to it, out of Jealouſy of making void the Goſpel of Chriſt, and of ſetting up inſtead

ſtead thereof a certain Mixture of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity; for ſo this was miſrepreſented to be. But the Vanity of the Charge, as alſo that of Popery, was ſoon made evident to as many as would be content to read with their own Eyes, that which many did labour to affright them from.

XIX. *Animadverſions upon his Book.*

In the Year 1670, there were ſome Animadverſions of a learned Divine made upon this Treatiſe; which he, concealing his Name, communicated in Manuſcript to ſeveral of the Biſhops, at the ſame Time ſtirring them up by Letter to make uſe of their Apoſtolical Authority in Thundring out their Anathema's againſt the Doctrines here maintained, as Pernicious and Heretical, and contrary to the Decrees of the Church of *England*, and of all other Reformed Churches; who was quickly Seconded in this by ſome others partly known, and partly unknown, of whom ſome that underſtood but little of the Matter, were, as it often happens, the hotteſt of all againſt him, and were for puſhing Things to the utmoſt Extremity; but moderate Counſels prevailed for the moſt part, and the Governours of the Church were ſo wiſe, as not to intermeddle farther in this Affair, than to keep the Peace of the Church committed to them.

The Oppoſition it met with from Three conſiderable Men in the Church.

There was indeed one great and good Biſhop, who, for Reaſons I am not well acquainted with, proceeded much farther than any of

of the reſt of his Order. This was Dr. *Morley* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who, whatever his own private Opinion might be of the Matter, ſeems to have been utterly againſt the reviving a Debate of this kind at all, upon any Pretence whatſoever, and not to have been ſo well ſatisfied, as ſome of his Brethren, with this Performance of an Author, who had done nothing before this, to ſignalize himſelf, and whoſe Youth was too great a Prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his Motives for ſo doing, this learned Biſhop, in a Paſtoral Charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſs, at his next Viſitation, thought fit to warn them againſt intruding too raſhly into things above them, and to Prohibit them the Reading of this Book, or Preaching according to it. Some Heads of Houſes in the Two Univerſities were alſo of the Biſhop's Mind: And there were ſome Tutors too, that thought it incumbent on them to guard their Pupils from the Danger of what appeared to them, an Innovation in the Church. Dr. *Barlow* and Dr. *Tully* were among the moſt zealous to oppoſe the Pacifick Method for reconciling the different Syſtems about attaining Salvation, by their rigid Adherence to certain Tenents by them formerly imbibed, and to ſome Scholaſtick Terms unſupported either by Scripture or Antiquity. But though the firſt of theſe read Publick Lectures againſt the *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, from the Divinity-Chair; and though the other made it his

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Buſineſs to anſwer it at large from the Preſs; yet it failed not to make its way through all Oppoſition and Contradiction, and to gain continually more and more Ground; as it came hereby to be more read and conſidered. And ſo in a very few Years the Strife ceaſed; foraſmuch as the Victory was at laſt ſo compleat, as none were found able to rally their Forces in this Cauſe againſt our judicious Harmonizer. This now is what is known to have paſſed within the Church, as to the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace thereof in this Point, even as it is at this Day. As to what paſſed without in relation to it, there is but little to be ſaid here; perhaps there may ſomewhat occur in the Progreſs of this Account, which will give ſufficient Satisfaction. However, the Weapons of them within, and thoſe without, are the very ſame; and by knowing the Strength of the one, we cannot be Strangers to that of the other.

And from others, either Half-Conformiſts, or Non-Conformiſts.

The Author of the *Animadverſions* before-mentioned, commonly cited under the Name of the *Cenſura*, was the Son of a very learned Presbyterian, and ſtrictly Educated in thoſe diſtinguiſhing Doctrines which had lately been ratified by the *Weſtminſter Aſſembly*. And the very Firſt Man that Publickly appeared in Print for theſe Doctrines [illegible]ainſt the Book of the *Apoſtolical Harmony*, [illegible] Mr. *Joſeph Truman*, a Non-Conformiſt Mi[illegible]r, after whom came out Dr. *Tully*'s Anſwer t[illegible] And laſt

laſt of all, Mr. *John Tombes* of *Bewdly*, a famous Anabaptiſt Preacher, on the Part of the Diſſenters, undertook the ſame Cauſe; as if the very Foundation of the Reformation were ſtruck at by this Attempt.

XX. Now as the Method of our Author was always to ſeek Truth at the Fountain-head; whatever Reſpect he might have for our firſt Reformers, and ſome other great Divines both Foreigners and Natives, he could by no means take up with their Authority, though never ſo pompouſly ſet off; but was for going directly to the very Originals themſelves, and for conſulting the moſt ancient and unexceptionable Witneſſes, where any Difference might happen to ariſe concerning them. Accordingly he betakes himſelf in the very firſt Place to the Holy Scriptures, and here he prudently beginneth with that which is obvious and plain, rather than with that which is ambiguous and obſcure. And ſo findeth in the Simplicity of St. *James*, a Key to the Δυσνόητα of St. *Paul*, thoſe hard Paſſages of which St. *Peter* makes mention. At leaſt there are ſuch Reaſons for him to conclude that he hath found this Key, as do bear the greateſt Reſemblance of Truth; for there appeareth nothing more ſimple and eaſy to be underſtood, than the plain Propoſition of St. *James*, * "That by Deeds a Man

A Review of his Method for determining the Senſe of St. James.

* *Chap.* ii. 24.

"is

" is juſtified, or that juſt Works declare a " Man juſt, and not his Faith only, let it be " never ſo right and orthodox:" It is alſo that Declaration of St. *Paul* † himſelf, which he made at *Antioch*, that is by ſome of our learned Men looked upon as the Sum and Subſtance of the whole Goſpel: " He thereby " teſtifying, that through Chriſt alone we are " to expect Juſtification and Remiſſion of Sins; " and conſequently, that by our Submiſſion " to the Goſpel of Chriſt, not to the Law of " *Moſes*, we are acquitted by him, and placed " in the Number of the *Righteous*.

The Propoſition of St. James farther explained.

And to make this yet more plain, he ſtates and defends the proper Senſe of the Word δικαιόω, againſt the learned *Grotius*; Vindicating herein our Tranſlators, by whom it is rightly rendred, *to juſtify*. And here by many Teſtimonies both out of the Old and New Teſtament, he proveth, that it muſt needs ſignify ſuch an Act of God as is properly *Judicial*; whereby he acquitteth the Perſon accuſed, and by the Law of Grace in Chriſt, receiveth ſuch an one to his Favour, as if he were innocent and perfectly juſt. So that the *principal* Cauſe of ſuch Juſtification, is in the Author's Words, *mera & gratuita Dei Patris miſericordia*; *the mere and free Grace of God the Father*; the *meritorious* Cauſe of it, is the Obedience of Chriſt both *Active* and *Paſſive*:

† Acts xiii. 38, 39.

And

And Works of Righteouſneſs are according to him, not properly any Cauſe at all thereof, but merely a Condition, *ſine quâ non*, as the Schools love to ſpeak, by God required in the Evangelical Covenant. This Obſervation he draweth from the Uſe of the Particle ἐξ, as it is applied by St. *James* to Works, and by St. *Paul* to Faith.

This Explication vindicated by five ſeveral Arguments.

Having thus explained the Propoſition of this Firſt Diſſertation, according to the Mind of the Apoſtle, he proceedeth next to Eſtabliſh the Truth thereof by ſeveral Arguments. The *Firſt* of which is taken from the expreſs Teſtimony of Holy Scripture; the *Second* from the very Notion itſelf of Juſtification; the *Third* from the Nature of Faith; the *Fourth* from the Proceedings of God in the Day of Judgment; and the *Fifth* from the *implicit Confeſſion* of the very Adverſaries themſelves to this Doctrine.

XXI.

Argument the firſt, from the Teſtimony of Holy Scripture.

Now under the Firſt Head, which is the *Teſtimony of Scripture*, he hath Two Claſſes of Texts ſerving for Confirmation of this Doctrine, as before repreſented. The former is of theſe Texts and Paſſages that ſpeak in *General* of good Works, or of Righteouſneſs, as of a Condition that tendeth to make us accepted of God, through his Grace. And of this kind there are Abundance of very obvious ones in the Prophets, in the Goſpels, and in the Epiſtles. So that every one that runneth, may read

read how acceptable in the ſight of God *Holineſs* is; and find that Obedience is no leſs neceſſary than Faith to attain this End. The latter Claſs is of thoſe Texts, in which ſome *ſpecial* Works, as abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation or Juſtification, are required of us by God. And of this Sort, there are found alſo many clear and expreſs Paſſages, that one would think very ſufficient fully to determine this Matter. As particularly, all thoſe Places deſerve to be noted, which require *Repentance* as a Diſpoſition, without which none is capable of obtaining the Forgiveneſs of his Sins from God: Foraſmuch as theſe ſo evidently refer to the *Evangelical State*, as to deny the ſame, would be to deny the whole Goſpel. Now under Repentance, he will have to be comprehended theſe following good Acts, *viz.* A true Sorrow for Sins paſt, an Humiliation under the Righteous Hand of God, an Hatred and Deteſtation of Sin, a Confeſſion of it, an earneſt Supplication for Divine Grace and Mercy, the Fear and Love of God, a ceaſing from Evil, a firm Purpoſe of New Obedience, Reſtitution of what hath been unjuſtly gotten, Forgiveneſs of all them who may have treſpaſſed againſt us; and laſtly, Works of Beneficence and Charity. Then he proveth after this, that there is the very ſame regard had always by God to Faith and Repentance, in the pardoning of a Sinner. And farther, that the Faith, whereof in the New Teſtament there are ſo great and

glori-

glorious things pronounced, is not to be taken for a ſingle Chriſtian Vertue or Grace; but for the whole Body and Collection of the Divine Vertues and Graces, or for a Life *according to the Goſpel*. Nay, he ſheweth, that when it is taken in that particular and *limited* Senſe, it is ſo far from being the *inſtrumental* Cauſe of our Juſtification as ſome pretend, that it hath not ſo much as the chief Place among thoſe Qualifications that concur to make us acceptable to God; it being ranked even by St. *Paul* himſelf, but in the Third Order, as inferior not only to Charity, but even to Hope. However, though Faith be leſſer than Charity in one reſpect, he readily yet grants that in another reſpect it is greater than Charity, namely, as it is the Foundation both of that, and of all the reſt of the Chriſtian Vertues; and though Faith doth not neceſſarily beget them; yet that it is apt, and in its own Nature diſpoſed ſo to do. The Sacred Text of the Firſt Claſs by him inſiſted upon for the Proof of his Propoſition, are theſe out of the Old Teſtament; *Iſai.* i. *v.* 16, 17, 18. and *Ezek.* xxxiii. 14, 15, 16. and out of the New Teſtament, Firſt the Words of Chriſt himſelf in St. *John* xiv. 21, 23. and xv. 14. and next to him, thoſe of his Apoſtles in *Acts* x. 34, 35. 1 *Joh.* i. 7. *Heb.* x. 8. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. and 1 St. *Peter* i. 2. beſides *James* ii. 24. So that an Appeal is here made to the Teſtimony of Two Witneſſes under the Law, Perſons of a moſt

moſt eminent Prophetical Character; and to that of our Lord under the Goſpel, accompanied not only with his Diſciples, *Peter*, *James* and *John*, atteſting the ſame Truth, but alſo with the Apoſtles of the Uncircumciſion, and moſt zealous Aſſerters of Chriſtian Liberty. Theſe Texts are all clearly explained and vindicated from the Exceptions of certain Metaphyſical Diſputants: And to theſe are alſo added ſeveral other by the judicious *Annotator*, that are no leſs ſtrong. Thoſe of the ſecond Claſs are above Twenty, of which I ſhall only mention the firſt and the laſt, than which nothing can be well more deciſive; that *Acts* ii. 38. as in the Name of the whole Apoſtolical College, when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon them, and not of St. *Peter* only; and this *Heb.* xiii. 16. as the undoubted Senſe both of them, and their Brother *Paul*, and of the whole Chriſtian Church both *Hebrew* and *Gentile*. Upon which he cites a Saying of St. *Chryſoſtom*, *that without Works of Mercy Repentance is dead*, and illuſtrates it by the Practice of the ancient Church at their receiving of Penitents. Which is confirmed alſo by his Explication of *Dan.* iv. 27. according to the Oriental Cuſtom of Speech; wherein he followeth *Grotius*, and prefers here the Interpretation of the *Seventy* to our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, as more nearly approaching the Propriety of the *Chaldee* Original. For the *Chaldee Pherak* is the ſame as the *Hebrew Phadah*, ſignifying to *Redeem*:

And

and the vulgar *Latin* agreeably renders it, *peccata tua Eleemoſynis redime.* For as nothing is more certain than *that he ſhall have Judgment without Mercy, who hath ſhewed no Mercy.* So on the other ſide it is equally certain, that *Mercy rejoyceth againſt Judgment*; and this Rejoycing can never be without Juſtification. As for the trifling Diſtinction of *ante* and *ad*, in this Controverſy, by which it is pretended that Works indeed of Mercy and Righteouſneſs are neceſſary *before* but not neceſſary unto Juſtification; it is here ſo baffled, both by the Author and by his Annotator, as there can ſcarce be a greater Evidence of a bad Cauſe than to have recourſe to ſuch poor Shifts and ſlender Evaſions.

XXII. Under the next Head his Method to eſtabliſh this Doctrine, as explained and defended by the Teſtimony aforeſaid, is from the Notion and Nature of *Juſtification*, as exerciſed in the Courts of *Judicature*. Where he obſerveth, that in every judicial Proceſs there muſt be theſe *three*, 1. The *Judge*, who is to pronounce the Sentence: 2. The *Priſoner*, or Criminal, who is called to his Tryal: And, 3. The *Law*, or Rule, according to which the Sentence muſt be pronounced, either *for* or *againſt* the Priſoner at the Bar. And in perfect Analogy to this ſort of Proceeding in Human Courts, he takes Notice, that if any Man be ſaid to be juſtifyed in the Sight of God, whether

Argument the ſecond, from the judicial Notion of Juſtification.

whether it be by the Works of the Law, or by Faith in Chriſt; in this Caſe the Priſoner that pleadeth at the Bar is Man; the Judge is God; and the Rule according to which Judgment is paſſed, is either the Law of *Moſes* on one ſide, or the Law of Chriſt on the other, the which is otherwiſe called the * *Law of Faith*; ſince no Man can judicially be pronounced Juſt, unleſs he be duly acquitted according to the Rule of that Law whereby he is judged, whether that Law be the Moſaical or the Chriſtian. Which latter he interpreteth to be the very Moral Law of God, as expounded and perfected by Chriſt on the Mount, and expreſly ratified by his own Divine Sanction, *Matth.* vii. 24, *&c.* And which is diſtinguiſhed from the Moſaical Law of Ceremonial Obſervances by ſeveral Names, as the *Perfect Law*, the *Royal Law*, the *Law of Liberty*, and the like; meaning hereby that Law which is *perfective* of Human Nature, is a Law given us by the Mouth of Chriſt our *King*, and is conducive to our true *Liberty*; that is, to a Liberty not only from the Yoke of Jewiſh Ceremonies and Ordinances, but alſo from the Guilt and Penalty of Sin, and chiefly from the Dominion and Tyranny thereof in our Fleſh; through the Aſſiſtance of Chriſt's Spirit, helping herein our Infirmities, that we may fulfil the ſame. Whereupon not only the looſe

* Rom. iii. 17.

Principles

Principles of the Antinomians, Libertines, Familiſts, and others of that ſort, are by him deſervedly exploded: But they who allow their Principles, and yet reject their Concluſion, are fairly warned of the dangerous Conſequences which they ſeem not to apprehend; and the injudicious Method of ſome Proteſtant Divines, in their Controverſies with the Papiſts on this Point, is taxed as it deſerves.

Argument the third, *from the Notion and Nature of* Faith.

The third Argument, that *Juſtification* is not by Faith alone, in the ſtrict Acceptation of the Word, is taken from the Conſideration of the very Nature of *Faith*, and of the ſeveral Acts that are generally aſſigned to it. And the Sum of his Argument is, That Faith, *per ſe*, or conſidered as diſtinct from the reſt of the Chriſtian Vertues, hath nothing in the Nature of it, but what may well enough conſiſt with an ungodly and unjuſtifyed Perſon. For the Acts of Faith being by Divines generally diſtributed into theſe Three, 1. Knowledge; 2. Aſſent; and 3. Reliance; he handleth each of theſe diſtinctly, and clearly proveth, that not one of them hath a natural aptitude to juſtifie a Sinner, or a Characteriſtick to diſtinguiſh a Reprobate from a Saint. And there being no Act of Faith nakedly and *per ſe* conſidered, to which Juſtification is neceſſarily joined; ſince Knowledge without Practice, the Aſſent of the Mind without the Love of the Heart, and the Reliance upon the Promiſes of the

the Goſpel, without the ſincere Endeavour of performing the Conditions of it, are of no Worth before God; he concludeth that we ought firmly to believe, that no Perſon can be juſtified in the ſight of God by Faith alone, (as it is ſtricty taken) without the other Vertues, which Chriſt hath required together with it in order to that End. Particularly he ſheweth, that the *Knowledge* of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt may be had by the Wicked, as well as the moſt Righteous. That there may be an *Aſſent* alſo given to the Truth of it by Reprobates, yea even by Devils; and that, laſtly, there may be a *Reliance* on the Promiſe of it, either conditional or abſolute, by them that are certainly in a bad Eſtate: Nay that it is not impoſſible to have *all Faith*, and the very higheſt Degrees thereof, and yet to remain ſtill but in a doubtful and dangerous Condition. And having very ſolidly treated this Matter in all the ſeveral Branches thereof, the Reverend Author telleth his Reader what the true and Chriſtian Reliance by Faith properly is, and wherein conſiſteth the only Aſſurance of our Salvation. This is fully argued from that famous Paſſage in St. *John*'s firſt Epiſtle, *Chap.* iii. *ver.* 19, 20, 21. which is brought alſo as a farther Confirmation of his Hypotheſis, that ſeemeth hence to be no other than the Catholick and Apoſtolical Explication of the Divine OEconomy towards Man.

XXIII. His Fourth Argument for the Proof of it, is taken from the Nature and Manner of God's proceeding in the *Day of Judgment*. From which he thus reaſoneth, that every one ſhall be judged by God in the World to come, after the ſame manner as he is in this preſent World juſtified by him: And that therefore ſince every one is to be judged at the laſt Day by Works, (according to *Matth.* xxv. *ver.* 21, *&c.* compared with *Chap.* xii. *ver.* 36, 37. *Rom.* ii. *ver.* 6, 13. 1 *Cor.* iii. *ver.* 13. iv. *ver.* 4, 5.) and not by Faith alone, without Works; every one that is juſtified by God in this Life, muſt be alſo juſtified after the ſame manner, that is, by Works, not by Faith alone. For the Judgment of God is the ſame in the one, and in the other, and changeth not. This I take to be the Sum of his Argument; ſtill underſtanding by *Faith*, both here and throughout the whole Controverſy, that which is ſtrictly and ſimply ſo called, and which is comprehended under all the Three Acts or Degrees mentioned in the former Argument. Now he takes here the *middle way*, after *Voſſius* and *Grotius*, in explaining Chriſt's ſolemn and declaritive Juſtification of his Saints at the great Day; which ought well to be obſerved. For he will not allow this to be by Works, either as to the *meritorious Cauſe* of it, as ſome do hold; or as the *Signs of Faith*, as others do maintain; the one being in his Opinion

Argument the fourth, from God's proceeding in the Day of Judgment.

pinion too much, and the other too little. Wherefore there muſt be ſomewhat betwixt theſe Two, according to the Principles by him laid down. The Juſtification of the Righteous in this World and the next, being both of the ſame Nature, according to his Proof both from Scripture and the common Senſe (as well as Conſcience) of Mankind. He calleth the firſt of theſe *Conſtitutive*, and the ſecond he calleth *Declarative*; and evidently ſheweth the one of theſe to be the Rule to the other, and both to be ſubject to the very ſame Laws and manner of Proceſs; and only to differ in this, that the one is privately, the other publickly tranſacted. This is ſet in a true Light both by Reaſon and Scripture. Alſo the *Two* Acts of the Sovereign Judge, in his laſt and more ſolemn Juſtification of the Righteous, are by him here rightly diſtinguiſhed. And in this laſt, both his declaring them *juſt*, and his appointing them conſequently a *Reward* thereupon, according to what is made appear in that Day, is here proved perfectly to anſwer to the Manner and Conſtitution of the firſt; which St. *Paul* * calls his *Goſpel*, and St. *James* † the *perfect Law of Liberty*. According to which, he concludeth, that good Works muſt be more than merely the *Signs of Faith*; foraſmuch as a Sign is always leſs than the Thing ſignifyed, and on the contrary. But *Charity*

* Rom. ii. ver. 16. † Chap. i. ver. 25.

that performeth theſe *Good Works*, is, if we may believe St. *Paul* himſelf, greater than Faith; and by Works alſo Faith is made perfect, even as it was in *Abraham*, and in all the Saints.

Therefore from the Proceeding of God in the Day of Judgment, wherein his faithful Servants ſhall be publickly juſtifyed, not only by their Faith, but by their Works alſo; and wherein both the firſt Act of the ſupreme Judge for pronouncing them juſt, and the ſecond for decreeing them a ſuitable Reward, according tō the Works they ſhall have wrought in the Fleſh, in Obedience to the New Covenant; it is evident, that the Works of Charity which *make* Faith *perfect*, are more than the bare Signs of it, as ſome Divines would pretend; and that Charity, which is the root of them, and is, without controverſy, greater than Faith, the Holy Ghoſt witneſſing as much, muſt be greater, for certain, than to be a Sign only of Faith. So then Charity, and Works proceeding from it, being more than a Sign of Faith, but not ſo much as a *meritorious Cauſe*, it will follow, that we may ſo avoid both the Extremes, as yet not to deny, but that they are a Condition, *without which none* can be juſtified by God either in this Life or the next, acccording to the Terms of his Covenant. And if there be any Degree of *moral Inſtrumentality*, as they term it, in Faith, for the Attainment of this bleſſed End, the ſame cannot be altogether wanting in this moſt excellent Gift of Charity, or in the

the Obedience which is rooted upon it, and is the fulfilling and Perfection of that Faith which pleaſeth God. The Appeal is here made to the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, and to his own expreſs Declaration concerning the Proceſs of that great Day. And certainly if his Words have any weight with us, they muſt leave no ſmall Impreſſion upon us in favour of the Doctrine here contended for, and ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by this great and good Man.

Argument the fifth, from the Conceſſion of Adverſaries.

His Fifth and laſt Argument is taken from the implicit Conſent of all Parties, and from the very Confeſſion of Adverſaries to this Doctrine. And here he juſtifies the *Publick Confeſſions* of the Reformed Churches in this Point, as being all or moſt of them on his ſide; ſince notwithſtanding that they may in Terms declare, *that a Man is juſtified by Faith alone without Works*, it is certain if we may allow of their own Expoſition, that by *Faith* they underſtand *Grace* which anſwereth to it; and that the plain meaning is, *a Man is juſtified by Grace alone, and not by the Merit of Works.* For this they muſt mean, as he proveth, if the Authors of thoſe very Confeſſions may be depended on to underſtand their own meaning. So that in Writing againſt ſome odd Doctrines, he is very far from laying them to the Charge of any Chriſtian Society: He only ſpeaketh of the private Opinions of ſome Divines who profeſs themſelves to follow thoſe Confeſſions, but who miſtake and miſapply them. He

proveth moreover, that theſe very Divines who underſtand not the Confeſſions and Articles of their own Body, and thence oppoſe the Catholick Doctrine in this Point, do yet as good as confeſs it to be the Truth, by certain Hypotheſes which they have ſet up, even to ſhelter themſelves from the Force of it.

XXIV. The first Concession concerning a living or operative Faith.

The *Firſt Hypotheſis* is, That the Faith which *juſtifieth* muſt be a *living* and not a *dead Faith*, or a Faith *fruitful of good Works*; whereby they diſtinguiſh it from *Hiſtorical* and from *Miraculous Faith*. And here he expoſeth handſomely the Weakneſs of ſuch Diſputants, as make the whole of the Controverſy to depend hence on a little Metaphyſical Subtlety, namely, Whether Faith *that* is living, or elſe Faith *as* it is living, be required as neceſſary to our Juſtification. And he fully demonſtrates the Abſurdity hereof, and that it is impoſſible upon their Suppoſition, even to make out any Senſe of St. *James* at all. For Firſt this Apoſtle moſt expreſly declaring, that a Man is juſtified ἐξ ἔργων, *by Works*, the Particle ἐξ, *by*, or *out of*, muſt manifeſtly denote ſomewhat more than an idle Concomitance. Since if the whole Buſineſs of Juſtification could be done and finiſhed by Faith alone, or of itſelf, it would be abſurd to aſſert, that a Man could in any Senſe be juſtified by Works. And then Secondly, ſpeaking of the Faith of *Abraham*, he declareth, how *Faith wrought with his Works*,

Works, and how *by Works his Faith was made perfect*, Chap. ii. *ver.* 22. The Apoſtle hereby both clearly maintaineth the *Co-operation* of Faith and Works in the Affair of Juſtification, immediately before-mentioned, *ver.* 21. And moreover, that Faith of *itſelf* is imperfect, and can never be brought through to the End of Juſtification, except as it is made perfect by Works. And laſtly, after having diſtinctly conſidered the ſeveral Objections and Evaſions that have been invented againſt this plain literal Senſe, he thinketh he may ſafely and without Hereſy make the Apoſtle's Concluſion, according to the clear Grammatical meaning of the Words, his own; foraſmuch as whoſoever contendeth that a Man may be juſtified *by Faith only*, and that *Works do nothing* in this Matter, is even as ridiculous and abſurd, according to the Principles of the Apoſtolical Age, as he that ſhould offer to affirm, that a Man liveth by the *Body* only, and that the *Spirit* or Soul doth contribute nothing to Man's Life; that is, if the Parallel of this Apoſtle, *ver.* 20. be juſt, and his Reaſoning be allowed to be good.

Second Conceſſion concerning the Neceſſity of good Works to Salvation.

A *Second Hypotheſis* therefore to ſalve up this Matter, the former being found ſo inſufficient, is, *that good Works are neceſſary to obtain Salvation.* This is almoſt generally received by the Reformed Divines, that hold the other ſide of the Queſtion; eſpecially by the more moderate ſort of them: And ſome of

them do mightily triumph in it, ſuppoſing that they have hereby ſecured themſelves againſt all the evil Conſequences and Contradictions to Scripture, which are charged upon the *Solifidian* Doctrine. Which Poſition they explain after this Manner, ſaying, That Works are indeed a Condition neceſſary to obtain, according to God's Promiſe, *Salvation*, but not that any one ſhould hereby obtain a *Right to Salvation*, this Right being *freely given to Faith only in Juſtification*. But that this is a mere Evaſion is fully ſhewn, both by Scripture Reaſonings, and by the very Evidence of the Propoſition itſelf; ſo ſoon as the ſame is but explained. For he that granteth good Works to be a Condition, which muſt neceſſarily be fulfilled by a Chriſtian for the obtaining of Life Eternal, according to God's Promiſe, doth at the ſame Time clearly confeſs, That the Right to Eternal Life is not to be obtained without Works. And again, he that denieth any Right to Salvation to be acquired by Works, doth contradict the clear and expreſs Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, who ſaith, *Bleſſed are they who do his* COMMANDMENTS, *that they may have a* RIGHT *to the Tree of Life*, Rev. xxii. *ver.* 14. There is no Poſſibility of avoiding the Force of this Evidence, as well as that of ſeveral others in the New Teſtament, more eſpecially theſe Three, 2 *Theſſ.* i. *ver.* 5, 7. *Heb.* vi. *ver.* 10. and 2 *Tim.* iv. *ver.* 8. without entirely ſubverting the Authority of

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the Sacred Writers; or at leaſt making of them (as ſome have Prophanely jeſted) a Noſe of Wax. Since, undoubtedly, if the Reward of Eternal Life, called *a Crown of Righteouſneſs*, be given by the Lord as the *Righteous Judge*, for what we ſhall have wrought, and for having *Fought a good Fight*; there muſt then of Neceſſity be acquired by what we have *wrought*, a *Right* to the Reward, according to God's gracious Covenant in Chriſt. And except this Right be given in Juſtification to *Love* as well as to *Faith*, and the *Works* thereof, the Word of God is hence plainly made void. Neither can we deny the Right given, but by denying at the ſame time God to be *Righteous*, who hath freely given a Right to thoſe that *love* him, and hath actually obliged himſelf to *remember* in Mercy thoſe that *work out* their Salvation, by virtue of the ſaid Covenant. For if we know any thing, this we know for certain, that God is *not Unrighteous*, that he ſhould forget the *Work and Labour of Love*, which any of his Saints have *ſhewed towards his Name*: And if ſo, then they muſt have ſome Right by this their *Work and Labour*, in virtue of his Promiſe, to be accepted and juſtified by him. Wherefore good Works wrought out of a Love unfeigned, and upon Principles purely Evangelical, are not only a neceſſary Condition of obtaining *Salvation*, which is granted; but alſo of obtaining *a Right to Salvation*, that is, a Diſpoſition to be

be *juſtified:* which was to be proved.

An Objection Anſwered.

And whereas it is objected by them that are againſt this Right, though it be confeſſed to be the free Gift of God, that the making of good Works any ways needful to Juſtification, doth both detract from the Merits of Chriſt, and contradict the Words of St. *Paul*; it is prudently and ſolidly retorted upon them, that for the very ſame Reaſons their own Hypotheſis muſt fall alſo to the Ground. Since as to the *Merits* of Chriſt, our *Salvation* no leſs than our *Juſtification* is wholly to be attributed to them; we being freely ſaved and freely juſtified for *his* ſake. And as to St. *Paul*, it is manifeſt that the Works which he diſputeth in his Epiſtles, are by him Excluded from *Salvation* as well as *Juſtification*. Conſider particularly, *Tit.* iii. *ver.* 5. and *Epheſ.* ii. *ver.* 8, 9. which will ſet this Matter beyond doubt. Thus endeth his Firſt Diſſertation, and his Catholick Expoſition of St. *James*.

XXV.

The Propoſition of St. James demonſtrated to accord with the Senſe of St. Paul.

In his *Second Diſſertation*, the main Scope is to demonſtrate, as the very Title expreſſeth, the good Agreement of St. *Paul* and St. *James* in this Matter. And how well he hath performed this, there is not required much Learning to judge; but a faithful Compariſon of Scripture, with a moderate Stock of common Senſe. The Propoſition of one Apoſtle is, *That by Works a Man is juſtified, not by Faith only*: The Propoſition of the other Apoſtle is,

is, *That a Man is juſtified by Faith without the Works* (νόμου) *of the Law.* Both theſe Propoſitions are moſt true in themſelves, and do perfectly well accord. And there could have been no difficulty concerning them, had either the State of the Controverſy in the Apoſtle's Days been attended to as it ought, or Perſons had not come with their Modern Opinions and Prejudices to read the Apoſtolical Epiſtles; not ſo much very often to learn what is the Truth, as to eſtabliſh themſelves thereby, in what they are already, by the Tradition of a Sect prepoſſeſſed with to be Truth.

He ſhews both the falſe and true way of ſolving the Difficulty.

To paſs by now the ſeveral wrong and unwarrantable Methods, which have by learned Men been taken, in order to reconcile the *ſeeming* Oppoſition of theſe Two Apoſtles, in a Point ſo very material as this; which are particularly conſidered in the Three Firſt Chapters of this Diſcourſe, and there deſervedly exploded; our Author cometh to the true Solution of the Knot in the following Chapters. And having in the Firſt Place eſtabliſhed this one Point for his Foundation, *That St.* Paul *is to be interpreted by St.* James, *and not St.* James *by St.* Paul, in Conſent with many of the Antients, (and particularly of St. *Auguſtine* himſelf) who are of the Opinion that the General Epiſtle of St. *James*, the Firſt of St. *John*, and the Second of St. *Peter*, with that of St. *Jude*, were Written againſt thoſe who, by miſinterpreting St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, had imbibed a fond Notion,

Notion, as if Faith *without Works* were ſufficient to ſave them. He ſheweth whence this Obſcurity and Ambiguity in the Terms of St. *Paul*, might probably ariſe, which was the Occaſion that Perſons not well grounded came to *miſtake* or *pervert* the ſame.

How the Term Juſtification, *as uſed by St. Paul, is to be interpreted.*

Now this can be no otherwiſe he thinks, than by not underſtanding what this Apoſtle meaneth by *Juſtification*, or by *Faith*, or by *Works*. Having then ſtated the true Notion, of the Term *Juſtification*, as a judicial Act of God abſolving Man; and pronouncing him Juſt and Bleſſed, according to what was before by him laid down and proved. He enquireth next into what St. *Paul* meaneth by Faith, when he maketh it the neceſſary Qualification of our being judicially abſolved, or juſtified in God's Court. And then, laſtly, he examineth what thoſe Works are which are totally excluded by the Apoſtle from any Share in our Salvation, or in God's Acceptance.

How the Term Faith *in this Controverſy, is to be interpreted.*

As to *Faith*, by making St. *Paul* here his own Interpreter, he plainly ſheweth, that in all ſuch Places, where Juſtification is by him aſcribed to it, thereby is to be conſtantly underſtood, the whole Condition of the Evangelical Covenant; comprehending in it all the Works of Chriſtian Piety, as grounded upon a firm Belief thereof; and that in Oppoſition only to the Jewiſh falſe Teachers, who Preached up Juſtification by the *Works of the Law*, St. *Paul* delivered his Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith, *i. e.* by the *Goſpel*.

Which

Which Notion of the Chriſtian Faith, as it is even taught by this very Apoſtle, he ſolidly explaineth and defendeth, by ſeveral parallel Paſſages, ſuch as theſe, *viz.* Firſt, *For* (to the Hope of Juſtification by *Faith* waited for, *ver.* 5.) *in Jeſus Chriſt neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but Faith which worketh by* LOVE. *Gal.* v. *ver.* 6. Second, *For in Chriſt Jeſus neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but a* NEW CREATURE, *Chap.* vi. *ver* 15. Third, *Circumciſion is nothing, and Uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping the* COMMANDMENTS *of God* IS ALL, 1 Cor. vii. *ver.* 19. compared with the Words of our Saviour, *John* xv. *ver.* 14. and *Mat.* xii. *ver.* 50. And this he doth here farther illuſtrate and confirm by all thoſe Paſſages, where either the Apoſtle expoundeth *Faith* by *Obedience*, or elſe ſpeaketh of the *Obedience of Faith*: As particularly, when he ſayeth, *they have not all obeyed the Goſpel*, Rom. x. *ver.* 16. there interpreting and applying the Words of *Iſaiah*, who crieth out, *Lord, who hath believed our Report*, or *Preaching?* Iſai. liii. *ver.* 1. which obeying the Goſpel or Obedience of Faith, he declareth in the ſame Epiſtle to be λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, *by Word and Deed*; Chap. xv. *ver.* 18. Whence it is plain, that by *Faith* we are here and elſewhere, as often as it is ſuppoſed to act *inſtrumentally* for our Juſtification, to underſtand that only which *worketh by* Charity, and which is the ſame with

First Argument, that St. Paul *meaneth ſuch a Faith as implies Obedience.*

with the *new Creature*, and containeth in it the *keeping of God's Commandments*: And that *believing* and *obeying* the Gospel do in his Writings signify the very same thing, which is called by him the Obedience of *Faith*, the Obedience of *Christ*, and simply *Obedience*, Rom. i. *ver.* 5. xvi. *ver.* 19, 26. 2 Cor. vii. *ver.* 15. x. *ver.* 5, 6. compared with *Jam.* i. *ver*, 22. *Rom.* ii. *ver.* 13. as also with the 1 *Pet.* i. *ver.* 2, 22. where to *purifie* the Soul in OBEYING *the Truth*, that is, the Gospel; and the *Sanctification of the Spirit unto* OBEDIENCE, which is by casting down all Human Imaginations and Reasonings against the Truths of God, and *bringing into Captivity every Thought to the* OBEDIENCE *of Christ*, must needs be the same with *purifying the Heart by Faith*, and the being *sanctified by Faith*, in *Acts* xv. *ver.* 9. and xxvi. *ver.* 18. And forasmuch as it seemed good to the Holy Ghost to join, both with this same Obedience to the Faith, and the Santification to this Obedience, the *sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ*, which is uncontrovertedly our *Justification*, it will necessarily follow, that the *Christian Obedience* by which the Soul is purified and sanctified through the Spirit and Blood of Christ, must not be understood to be different from that Faith which both *purifieth* and *justifieth*, according to the Language of the very same Apostle, as from Abundance of Places doth appear: And this is that Faith which is properly called *Fides formata*, being Faith

formed

formed and quickened by Charity. Thus St. *Paul*'s Senſe is from parallel Paſſages, to which many more might be added, made clear; whence the true Notion of Chriſtian Faith and Obedience will be found not hard to be comprehended; this is his firſt Argument.

Second Argument, that St. Paul means ſuch a Faith as containeth Obedience.

Another Argument that St. *Paul* meaneth here no other Faith, but ſuch as containeth in it Obedience, and cannot be ſeparated from Charity, is taken from that famous Paſſage of his in 1 *Cor.* xiii. *ver.* 2. where he maketh nothing at all of *Faith alone*, or *Faith by itſelf*, yea of the very higheſt Faith, unleſs it be animated and informed by Chriſtian Love and Obedience. For as to the vulgar Objection, that the Apoſtle is here ſpeaking only of *miraculous* Faith, or of ſome ſuch Faith at leaſt as is imperfect, or ſuperficial and counterfeit; this he thinks is moſt eaſily refuted but by a very little Attention to the words of the Text and their Connection. Becauſe firſt the Apoſtle ſpeaketh here expreſsly of all *manner* of Faith, as well as of all *manner* of Knowledge; and thus, uſing the ſame Term, he elſewhere ſpeaketh of all *manner* of Affliction, or *any* Affliction, 2 *Cor.* i. *ver.* 4. Secondly, the Miracle-working Faith is the higheſt Degree of Faith; there being no other Faith as conſidered in *itſelf*, that is greater and nobler than this: If any will therefore own this Faith to be nothing in the Sight of God, though it includes the higheſt Degree of Aſſent to the Goſpel of Chriſt, they muſt conſequently grant,

grant, that there is no manner of Faith, which *nakedly* conſidered, can avail ought to a Man's Salvation. Thirdly, there can be no doubt made, but that the Apoſtle is here writing of *True* and *Evangelical* Charity; and not of any inferior Sort, which ſometimes may be called by that Name: But if one Part of the Compariſon be *true* and *real*, ſo muſt the other Part be likewiſe. For if Charity that is *true* be preferred only to Knowledge that is *unſound*, and is falſly ſo called; or to Prophecy that is *pretended*; or to the Underſtanding of Myſteries that is *imaginary*; or to Faith that is *untrue* or *dead*; ſuch a Compariſon would be as ridiculous, as to compare the Strength of a Child with that of a Lyon, and prefer the Chid's Strength in making nothing of the Lyon's, hereby meaning a *living Child*, but a *dead Lyon*. Fourthly, it is by all generally owned, that at the End of this Chapter no other but true and perfect Faith is to be underſtood: But and if ſo, then alſo muſt it neceſſarily be underſtood at the beginning of the Chapter after the ſame Manner, the whole being one continued Diſcourſe, otherwiſe the Apoſtle would be inconſiſtent with himſelf.

Third Argument, that St. Paul meaneth ſuch a Faith as containeth Obedience.

A Third Argument for this Acceptation of the word *Faith* in many Places of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, not according to the ſimple, but the complex Senſe thereof, is taken from that remarkable Text, *Rom.* ii. *ver.* 13. (interpreted by *Chap.* xiii. *ver.* 10. *Gal.* v. *ver.* 14. and *Jam.* ii. *ver.* 8.) where

where he expreſly declareth the obſerving of God's Commandments to be needful to Juſtification; by determining, that it is not the *Hearers* or Believers that are juſtified *before God*, but that the DOERS *of the Law ſhall be* JUSTIFIED. Nothing, one would think, can be more plain than this, yet neither is this all; the whole Current of the Revelation of the New Teſtament conſtantly ſuppoſing no leſs, as in it is contained a Body of Divine Precepts and Rules, wiſely adapted to perfect Human Nature, and to juſtifie as many as are conformed thereby to the Will of God. This one Paſſage of St. *Paul* being applied to the *perfect Law* of Chriſt, is as good as a thouſand. Wherefore, to omit others, let it be ſufficient to obſerve here from our Author, that this is Parallelled very fitly with that of St. *James*, *Be* DOERS *of the Word, and not Hearers only*; and with the expreſs Sayings of Chriſt himſelf in *Mat.* vii. *ver.* 21, 24. *John* xiv. *ver.* 21. and xiii. *ver.* 17. Now it is plain that Love is the fulfilling of the Law under the new Evangelical Diſpenſation; and that the *Law is fulfilled* hence *in one word*. And this he farther corroborates from another Paſſage in the ſame Epiſtle, expounding δικαιοσύνη by δικαίωσις, that the Antitheſis may more clearly appear, and ſo making the Senſe to run thus: *Know ye not, that to whom ye yield your ſelves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are, whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto Juſtification*, that is Life Eternal. *Chap.* vi. *ver.* 16.

The Ground of this manner of ſpeaking.

Thus is St. *Paul*'s Juſtification by *Faith*, and not by *legal Works*, explained according to the Analogy of his own Writings, and of the other Scriptures of the New Teſtament. Which done, he proceedeth to enquire into the Ground of this manner of ſpeaking. And this, without doubt, muſt be becauſe Faith is the Beginning and Root of all Evangelical Righteouſneſs, and the firſt Principle of all true Religion, *Heb.* xi. *ver.* 6. without which no ſaving Vertue is or can be in Man; and which not being obſtructed, will kindly draw after it all the reſt of the Vertues as they are in Chriſt. For if we believe in him, we are thereby led chearfully to obey him, and to ſubmit to his Diſcipline, and to his wiſe and holy Inſtitutions.

XXVI.

The firſt Reaſon why St. Paul uſeth Faith to deſcribe the Condition required from us.

But beſides this, there are Two Reaſons why St. *Paul*, in deſcribing the Condition required on our part for Salvation, maketh uſe of *Faith*. And theſe are. 1. That he might expreſs to us the *Eaſineſs* of the Condition. 2. That he might thence exclude all Human *Merit*. As to the *Eaſineſs* of the Condition on Man's Part for obtaining Juſtification, it was impoſſible to expreſs it more Emphatically, than by *Faith*. For what can be more eaſy than to *believe*; eſpecially when there is all the Reaſon in the World for our Belief; and where *not to believe* is the greateſt Folly and Inſenſibility imaginable? Or what again can contribute

bute more to depreſs the *Merit* of all Fleſh, and to exclude all Boaſting, than to aſcribe nothing to what we do, even in that which we do, but to give the ſole Honour of all to the Grace of God in Chriſt; into which we cannot be initiated but by Faith? So that as the New Covenant is more eaſy than the Old; if in the Old there might be ſome Pretence of *meriting*, there can be none at all in the New. Whence both to expreſs how much greater Facility there is of *Evangelical*, than of *Legal* Juſtification; and to make void all the Pretenſions of Man, by virtue of his own Performances; there is here given ſuch an Interpretation of thoſe Words of *Moſes* and St. *Paul*, *Levit.* xviii. *ver.* 5. *Deut.* xxx. *ver.* 11, 12, 14. *Rom.* x. *ver* 5, 10. which deſcribe the Righteouſneſs both of the *Law*, and of the *Goſpel*, and compare them together, as to ſhew the real and diſtinct Ground of each, and to manifeſt wherein the Prerogative of one Revelation above the other, doth properly conſiſt. The Sum of which is this. "The Righteouſneſs, "*he ſaith*, which is of the Law, preſcribeth "very many and grievous Commandments, "but containeth no ſufficient Promiſes to en- "courage a Man to the Obedience of them; "but that which is of Faith, preſcribeth only "a few and eaſy Commandments, ſuch as in "themſelves are highly recommendable, and "ſuited to the Perfection of our Natures; and "exciteth us alſo to the Performance thereof

" by the greateſt and moſt certain Promiſes, " and by the Aſſurance of all thoſe Helps at " Hand, that we can even wiſh for or deſire. And the Foundation of all this he makes to be a ſtedfaſt Belief, that 'tis poſſible for a Man to *aſcend into Heaven*; and that even notwithſtanding that he may have *deſcended into the Deep*, he muſt yet return again. All which is demonſtrated to us by the Hiſtory of our Saviour's *Aſcenſion*, as is here ſhewn: And no leſs likewiſe by that of his *Death* and *Reſurrection*, being ſo convincingly atteſted. So that whoever ſhall doubt of this Matter, he may even as well think to *bring* Chriſt himſelf *down* from Heaven, who is thither aſcended; or elſe to deny that Chriſt was ever put to Death in the Fleſh, and raiſed again from the Dead by the Spirit. Wherefore the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt into Heaven, being once firmly believed, the whole Subſtance of Chriſtian Religion is made thereby moſt *eaſy*: So that we may truly then ſay, his *Commandments are not grievous*; for to him that believeth are all things made eaſy. And this is the Victory *that overcometh the World*, according as the Holy Ghoſt witneſſeth, *even our Faith*. Which Victory is therefore aſcribed to Faith, becauſe it is Faith that both encourageth us to the Battle, and aſſiſteth us in it with the whole Divine Armor; and maketh the Grace of God, the Merit of Chriſt, and the Aid of his Spirit, to be herein all in all.

And

And this Faith expreſſing *Evangelical Obedience* doth moreover exclude all *Merit*; becauſe, 1. it ſuppoſeth the *Revelation*, and calling on God's part firſt granted to Man out of *mere Grace*, before his performing any Obedience to God; and that therefore he doth perform that Obedience, which is expreſſed by the Word of Faith, not by his own Might and Strength, but through God preventing him with his Love and Mercy, and graciouſly revealing his Mind to him. 2. Becauſe it not only ſuppoſeth a Divine Revelation, but alſo ſuch Promiſes as may excite a Perſon to ſet about theſe Works, which he would never otherwiſe have attempted, had he been never ſo much before perſuaded of his Duty ſo to do. The Texts now brought by him for Confirmation and Illuſtration hereof are theſe, *viz.* 2 *Pet.* i. *ver.* 4. and 1 *Pet.* i. *ver.* 23. compared with *Jam.* i. *ver.* 8. Alſo St. *Peter*'s Doxology, 1 *Epiſt.* i. *ver.* 3. and *Abraham*'s Bleſſing, *Gal.* iii. *ver.* 14. which are very expreſs in this Caſe, and may receive farther Light from *Heb.* xii. *ver.* 2. 3. Becauſe ſo far as it regardeth the Promiſe, it expecteth no Reward but only from the *free* undeſerved Grace of *God* promiſing it. And this he taketh to be the chief Reaſon why the Holy Ghoſt is wont to expreſs the Goſpel-Obedience by Faith, to ſhew that this Obedience which we yield through Faith, doth not obtain Salvation *ſua vi aut merito*, *by its own Efficacy or Merit*, but

The ſecond Reaſon why Faith is uſed to expreſs Evangelical Obedience.

vi pacti, by vertue of the Covenant, or Free Promiſe; which by Faith is apprehended. Texts for confirming and illuſtrating this, by him made uſe of, are theſe, *viz. Gal.* iii. *ver.* 18. *Rom.* iv. *ver.* 13, 16. This for *Faith.*

XXVII.

How the Term Works *is to be interpreted in this Controverſy.*

As to *Works*, and the Ambiguity in the Uſe of this Term as ſometimes oppoſed to *Faith*, he next proceedeth to ſhew, from the whole Intent and Scope of St. *Paul*, in his Diſputation with the Jews and judaizing Chriſtians; both in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and in that to the *Galatians*, that he and St. *James* are perfectly of a Mind, that theſe are to be reſtricted by an Hiſtory of Facts relating to the Contentions then on foot, that the Works excluded by one are alſo no leſs excluded by the other, and on the contrary. In proving this he is very large and clear. And particularly, Occaſion is taken by him from the Divine Sermon of our Lord upon the Mount, to ſtate this Matter with all Exactneſs, and to demonſtrate the Conformity of the Deſign, both of the Maſter and of his Diſciples; as proceeding upon the very ſame Principles, eying the very ſame Objections and Prejudices, and carrying on together the very ſame Cauſe, even that of Evangelical Righteouſneſs; notwithſtanding ſome Difference of Style and Method, and the Diverſity of Appearances occaſionally introduced. Hereby is given us a noble Proſpect of the Chriſtian Religion; and a moſt delight-

delightful View withal of thoſe bright and gracious Works which follow the Bleſſed that Die in Chriſt; for their Juſtification is there faithfully repreſented to the Reader.

Works wrought by the Spirit *to be diſtinguiſhed from all other Works.*

But here above all, it is neceſſary that the Works which are thus graciouſly received of God for Chriſt's ſake, foraſmuch as they are wrought by the Operation of his own Spirit, be rightly diſtinguiſhed from all other Works, let their Appearance be never ſo great and good; which however they may juſtifie us before Men, can have no Share in juſtifying us before God. And this is done ſo well in this Diſcourſe, and in the Two Vindications of it, as it will be hard for any to miſtake the one for the other, that will mind but a little what is herein ſo very clearly delivered. For as there is a living and a dead Faith, ſo likewiſe there are living and dead Works; which muſt by no means be confounded. As to Faith it is certainly dead without Works; and no leſs certainly are Works dead without Faith. The Seperation of one from the other is almoſt like the Separation of the Soul from the Body.

Faith and Works conſtitute the Goſpel-Covenant

Whence there can be no doubt upon the Reaſonings of this Treatiſe, but that *Faith and Works*, or the *Works of Faith*, or *Faith working by Love*, or *Faith and Repentance*, are properly conſtitutive of the Evangelical Covenant (which is ſomething differently expreſſed) according to which a Man is accepted

and juſtified of God. As to Faith there can be here no Controverſy, that being allowed by all.

All ſort of Works not excluded from Juſtification.

As to *Works*, if St. *Paul* again may be allowed to be his own Interpreter, there will be no great if any Difficulty in the Matter, as our Author fully proveth. For the true State of the Caſe, according to him, is this. The Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt did, from its very firſt Preaching, labour under this great Prejudice from the Jews, that it did contradict the Religion and the Law given them of God, by the Hands of *Moſes* the Mediator thereof, and confirmed to them by many and great Miracles. Againſt this Calumny, our Lord expreſly defended himſelf in that moſt Divine Sermon of his upon the Mount, ſhewing how he came not to diſſolve or *to deſtroy, but to fulfil* and perfect the Law: Both by explaining thoſe things in it more clearly, which had never before been explained; and by ſtrengthning it with ſome more exact Rules, and then alſo by inclining our Minds to the Obedience thereof by the Greatneſs and Certainty of the Promiſes, and even by the Sealing, moreover, of the Holy Ghoſt. This is for the moral. And as for the *ritual* part of the Law, that was by Chriſt ſo conſummated, as to ceaſe when the Subſtance thereof appeared in him. This nevertheleſs the Jews were not willing to underſtand, as not diſcerning the End and Purpoſe of God in giving the Law; but concluding that it was to be everlaſting; and that even

as

as to all the Ceremonials too therein contained. And he ſheweth us how this Prejudice continued, even with them that were converted to the Faith of Chriſt: So that there was need of an *Apoſtolical Council* to oppoſe it, and to determine for the *Chriſtian Liberty* againſt the *Moſaical Servitude*. And that which both Chriſt and the whole College of his Apoſtles did, is but proſecuted more at large by St. *Paul*, as he proveth againſt the aforeſaid Jewiſh Prejudice, when he writeth of the *Law* and the *Goſpel*, or the *Works of the Law*, and the *Obedience of Faith*, and compareth them together. For which, and for other Reaſons, he collecteth, that St. *Paul* cannot mean *all* ſorts of Works, when he excludeth them from juſtifying; but only ſome ſort of them, as Works of the Moſaical Law.

what ſort of Works rejected from Juſtification.

Now the Works rejected from Juſtification by the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, for vindicating the moſt high Pre-eminence and Prerogatives of the Goſpel, are, according to our Author, 1. The *ritual* ones, which the Ceremonial Law appointed, and which Chriſt fulfilled. 2. The *moral* ones, before and without the Grace of the Goſpel, whether in the State of the Law or of Nature. 3. All Works of Judaical Righteouſneſs, both legal and traditional, as they are delivered by the Jewiſh Doctors, and by the ſtricteſt Phariſees inſiſted on. 4. All manner of Works whatſoever not founded upon Chriſt as the only Mediator; and

which

which without reſpect to the Covenant of Grace eſtabliſhed in his Blood, put in any but the leaſt Pretence to the Attainment of Salvation. And none of any of theſe are ſet up by his Brother Apoſtle, as is evident from his whole Epiſtle. And on the contrary, St. *Paul* is ſo far from denying, that Moral Works, proceeding from the Grace of the Goſpel, do by virtue of the *Goſpel-Covenant* effectually contribute to a Man's Eternal Juſtification and Salvation; as he is almoſt wholly taken up in demonſtrating it; which is ſhewn at large in Seven Chapters of this Diſcourſe. And this is the very thing that is only contended for by St. *James*. And the Foundation of them both is our Saviour's Sermon aforeſaid, which both * beginneth and † endeth herewith; and is throughout a plain demonſtration, that there can be no true Juſtification under the Goſpel, or Attainment of Bleſſedneſs, but by Obedience as well as Faith, and by the *following of Chriſt*; and that conſequently not only Works of Righteouſneſs are required in order to it, but even ſuch as ſurpaſs the Righteouſneſs of the very ſtricteſt of thoſe that are but under the Law. This is the Subſtance of the Second Diſſertation. In which there are alſo ſeveral curious and learned Diſcourſes for Illuſtration of the Subject, concerning the Pre-eminence of the Evangelical Diſpenſation above the Legal,

* St. Matth. v. *ver.* 3, &c. † Chap. vii. *ver.* 24. &c.

of

of the Perfection of the Chriſtian Rule, of the Miſtakes about it, of the Jewiſh Notions of Juſtification, and of ſeveral other Matters interſperſed, which will deſerve the Attention of a careful Reader.

XXVIII. *Animadverſions on the* Harmonia, *ſent to the Author.*

About a Year after this Book was Printed and Publiſhed, there was ſent a Copy of it with Marginal Annotations and Animadverſions to the Author, after it had paſſed through ſeveral other Hands before. They were Written by a certain Divine, who was altogether unknown to him. As he received them, from his Dioceſan and Patron, he ſet himſelf earneſtly to conſider them, and to review what he had Printed.

The Animadverſions written by Mr. Charles Gataker.

In the Year 1671, or thereabouts, the *Animadverſions* upon his *Harmonia*, &c. which he had ſome time before received by the Hands of Biſhop *Nicholſon*, were diſcovered to him to have been Written by Mr. *Charles Gataker*, the Son of that learned Critick Mr. *Thomas Gataker* of *London*, Author of the *Diſſertatio de Stylo Novi Teſtamenti*, &c. who was a Member of that unlawful Aſſembly of Divines that met at *Weſtminſter*, 1643, and was preparing to Publiſh, after another Scheme, an *Harmony* alſo *of the Two Apoſtles, James* and *Paul*, a little before he Dyed; with whoſe Papers the Son being aſſiſted, thought himſelf more than able to deal with our Author, and even to overthrow his whole Foundation.

How

The Sum of the Animadverſions.

How well Mr. *Gataker* hath ſucceeded therein, let any one judge, after reading over all the Animadverſions which he hath made, and comparing them with the Book Animadverted upon. After which, if he be not ſatisfied enough on which ſide the Truth lieth, he may go on to read the Reply to them; but if he be, he may ſave himſelf that Labour. Now the Sum of what is contained in theſe Animadverſions may amount to thus much; It is not fit, he thinks, to explain St. *Paul* by St. *James*; as ſuppoſing this would be to make a ſingle Paſſage in the one the Standard, whereby to interpret a great many in the other. Nor is he willing to allow of any Obſcurity at all in St. *Paul*'s Expreſſions; but contendeth for the Plainneſs and Fulneſs of his Arguments in this Caſe, againſt the Doctrine explained and defended according to St. *James* in our Author's *Harmony of the Apoſtles*. He is not at all pleaſed with the Term of *Fides formata*, or *animated Faith*; becauſe it ſeemeth to make Charity the Soul of Faith, or its conſtitutive Form; and becauſe the ſaid Term is taken up by the Schoolmen, whom he inveigheth againſt as the great Corrupters of the Goſpel in this Point. He chargeth the Harmoniſt with confounding the * Terms of Scripture, and with not reaching the Senſe of a common † *Greek* Particle. He will not hear

Animad. 1.

Animad. 2.

Animad. 3, 4.

* Μισθὸν λογίζεσθαι & Δικαιοσύνην. † Ex.

of

of the Imputation of *Reward* as a part of Juſtification; nor is he content to have Faith ſo far degraded as to be accounted only a Condition of the Goſpel-Covenant, for he will have it to be a great deal more, even a real and efficacious *Cauſe* of the Righteouſneſs obtained by Chriſt, or a *cauſal Energy* in juſtifying a Sinner. He diſtinguiſheth betwixt the being *accepted* by God, and being *juſtified* by him; and granteth *Cornelius* to have been indeed *accepted*, but denyeth him to have been *juſtified*, becauſe of his good Works. Animad. 5. He alloweth not, that Juſtification is properly meant by the ſprinkling of Chriſt's Blood, but will have Sanctification referred to by it, in 1 *Pet.* i. *ver.* 2. and other Places. Animad. 6. He denieth Juſtification to be the ſame with Remiſſion of Sins; and is poſitive that Juſtification is no-where in Scripture attributed to Repentance. Animad. 7. Nevertheleſs he denieth not that Repentance and Faith are the Two Conditions of the Goſpel which Chriſt had joined together, and which none ought to put aſunder. He diſputeth not the Obligation to Repentance laid upon us; but maintaineth, however, that a Man may be juſtified by Faith, who ſhall want the Opportunity of bringing forth the Fruits of Repentance, being prevented by Death. Animad. 8. He defendeth the *Inſtrumentality* of Faith, underſtanding by it, a certain *Influence appointed by God for the obtaining of Righteouſneſs*. Animad. 9. He contendeth for the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Divines, Animad. 10. that

that they have not ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported too far in their Diſputes with the
Animad. 11. Papiſts about this Article. By the Diſtinction of a *two-fold Righteouſneſs*, the one of *Chriſt* imputed to the faithful, and by *Faith* obtained; the other of the *faithful*, by himſelf performed, and by *Works* exerciſed and ſhewn forth; he laboureth to ſurmount the Difficulty of Chriſt's Sermon on the Mount, as an authentick Expoſition and Declaration of the Moral Law, and his Eſtabliſhment thereof for his own Law, by tempering it with Evangeli-
Animad. 12. cal Grace. Moreover, he diſtinguiſheth a *two-fold Law of* Chriſt, the one the *Moral* Law of God, the other the Law of *Faith*: And maintaineth, that a true and living Faith is the only Condition of Juſtification according to the *Evangelical Law* of Chriſt, as
Animad. 13. contradiſtinct to the *Moral*. He defineth Saving Faith to be *a lively Inclination of the Will, that is directed by the Underſtanding now irradiated by the Light of the Goſpel, and moved by the Holy Ghoſt to truſt in God through Chriſt*
Animad. 14. *the Mediator for Eternal Salvation.* He contendeth that Chriſt's Deſcription of the Day of Judgment in *Mat.* xxv. is *parabolical*; and that no deciſive Argument can thence be brought for the manner of his Proceeding in that Day. Yea, he inſiſteth, that if we are to be juſtified in this Life after the ſame manner we ſhall be judged according to this Parable, we muſt conſequently be juſtified by *Works alone*, without

out Faith. His Way of reconciling St. *Paul* with St. *James*, is by the Diſtinction of a two-fold Juſtification, as reſpecting a two-fold Accuſation, according to the different Conditions of the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace. For he maintaineth, that we are accuſed before God either as *Sinners*, or as *Unbelievers*; and that we are juſtified againſt the firſt Accuſation by *Faith alone*, laying hold on the Grace and Righteouſneſs of Chriſt; and againſt the ſecond by *Works*, and not by Faith only, as theſe are the Signs and Evidences of our being true Believers. He Objecteth againſt the *complex* Notion of Faith, as incluſive of Hope and Charity with good Works; that it is plainly contrary to St. *Paul*'s Foundation, who acknowledgeth no other but Faith in the Blood of Chriſt *without Works*: And therefore without a Contradiction to himſelf, cannot be underſtood to ſpeak of a Faith with Works. He diſputeth about the Perfection of the Law of *Moſes*; and ſaith, that the Law which is to be the Rule of the laſt Judgment, can be no other than a Rule of perfect Obedience. He derideth the Diſtinction of Juſtification *in the Sight of God*, and *before the World*. The only Reaſon for which he will allow St. *Paul* to deny that a Sinner may be juſtified by the Law of *Moſes*, is the moſt perfect and abſolute Righteouſneſs which he aſſerteth to be required by it, as a Condition of Juſtification; which Condition no Man can perform.

Animad. 15.

Animad. 16.

Animad. 17.

Animad. 18.

Animad. 19.

Animad. 20. perform. He is very positive, that St. *Paul* had no Intent to make mention of the Defect of the Law, and that he could draw no Argument from the Weakness of it against Justification, though he might against Sanctification, by it. He saith, that the Grace of God, for the Observance of the Law, was not denied by the very *Pharisees* themselves; and that none either *Jews* or *Gentiles* did ever think they could be justified by Works without God's Grace; even the Heathens being so wise as to acknowledge * *no Man good without a Divine Genius assisting him.* And he concludeth that St. *Paul* doth speak only of *Abraham*, *David*, and such others, who were justified by the Mercy of God through Christ, to whom God

Animad. 21. imputed Righteousness without Works. He is exceedingly displeased with those who make the Promises and Threatnings of the Law to be only temporal; and chargeth this Opinion with downright Blasphemy, and with contradicting the express Words of Christ, *Luke* xvi.

Animad. 22. *ver.* 29. and *John* v. *ver.* 39. In a Word, he is very earnest for the Perfection of the Law given by *Moses*, in Opposition to the several Infirmities objected against it; and argueth for its Fitness to produce true and genuine Piety, from the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and from the

Animad. 23. *Psalms*. And in the Close of all, he severely animadverteth upon an Appeal of our Author

* Χωρὶς δαίμονος ἰδίου ἀγαθός.

to

to the Judgment of the Church of *England* in her XI. Article, charging him with interpolating her Doctrine, and the Holy Scripture alſo; whereby he means, corrupting and depraving it by his Additions. This is a moſt heavy Charge againſt him; and his Proofs ought to be very plain. The beſt Cauſe in the World may be run down with Clamour and Confidence: But Truth is never better ſupported, than by being modeſtly and ſimply propoſed, with the Arguments for and againſt it fairly repreſented, without Reflection upon any for not thinking after the ſame manner with us. But this is not the Method of the *Animadverter*.

The Character of the Animadverter.

It were truly much to have been wiſhed, that ſo maſterly a Writer as Mr. *Bull*, had met with, upon his firſt ſetting out into the World, a more conſiderable Adverſary to manage, that ſo the Cauſe might have been carried on with greater Advantages, for advancing the Truth ſimply, without reſpect to Perſons or Parties; and that a great Genius might not have been forced to condeſcend to ſuch little Matters, as he he could expect to receive no Honour from, if he conquered. Mr. *Gataker* appeareth to have been a Perſon of great Violence in his Temper, but one well intentioned, and a very zealous Proteſtant; and had he had but more Coolneſs of Thought, and had he withal read more of the Antients, and fewer of the Moderns, he would, I believe, have made no in-

conſiderable Writer. But he not allowing himſelf time to think ſedately, or even to examine ſufficiently the Senſe of an Author who pleaſed him not; being fired with a Zeal for what he took for Truth, from the Syſtems which he had greedily ſucked in, as Authentick Explications of the Goſpel, entirely loſt himſelf hereby, and expoſed the very Cauſe he undertook to defend. However in this he is to be commended, that he was content to have his Thoughts communicated to his Superiors in the Church, and to the Author of the Book which he attacked, without making them more publick by the Preſs. And Biſhop *Nicholſon* was alſo certainly in the right, not to preſs Mr. *Bull* to Publiſh the Anſwer which he had prepared, notwithſtanding all the foul Language and Provocation that was given him.

XXIX. However, becauſe nothing that was more conſiderable did yet appear objected againſt this Work; and becauſe he thought there did lye on him an Obligation both for his own ſake, and the Truth's ſake, to vindicate himſelf and his Book from thoſe harſh and uncharitable Cenſures which were caſt upon him and it; and to endeavour to put a Stop to thoſe loud Clamours moſt unjuſtly raiſed and fomented by others of the ſame fiery Zeal againſt a Proceeding of the greateſt Fairneſs and Ingenuity: As alſo becauſe the very ſending him that Printed Copy of his *Harmonia*, &c. which came from

Mr. Bull's Motives for taking ſo much Notice of Mr. Gataker's MS. Animadverſions.

from Mr. *Charles Gataker*, ſtuffed throughout with his Remarks and Reflections written on the Margents of it, together with other miſcellany Notes relating to this Controverſy, added both before and after the Book by him, was looked upon by Mr. *Bull* when he firſt received it, no other than a Command of his ſpiritual Superior, who ſent it him, to undertake the Anſwering of whatever therein might deſerve any Conſideration; notwithſtanding that this was not preſſed upon him at all, foraſmuch as the Biſhop would often tell him, that there was no great Matter in theſe Animadverſions, and that he himſelf made little or no Account of them: He was yet reſolved to ſteal ſome time from his other Buſineſs, that he might ſhew the Emptineſs and the Inconſiſtency of the Arguments brought againſt him by this confident Writer; which he hath done very largely and fully, and interſpered a great deal of curious and ſolid Learning, wherever any Occaſion doth preſent itſelf: And hath frequently taken the Hint from very trifling Objections to ſtrengthen his former Works by ſeveral moſt material Conſiderations and convincing Arguments.

He very nervouſly defendeth the Propoſition of St. *James*, and his Explication of it; and ſheweth by many Arguments, that it is far more convenient and reaſonable, that St. *Paul* ſhould be interpreted by us, according to him, than on the contrary. He ſolidly vindicateth

An Abſtract of his Examen Cenſuræ in Anſwer to them. Anſw. to Anim. 1.

Anſw. *to* Animad. 2. the Phraſe of *fides formata*, uſed by him, againſt his Adverſaries Objections; and handles the Queſtion with great Accuracy of Judgment, *whether Charity may rightly be called* the Form of *juſtifying Faith?* which is decided by him affirmatively. He is full and clear in determi-

Anſw. *to* Animad. 3. ning the Queſtion, *whether the conferring a Right to the Kingdom of Heaven, be properly an Act of Evangelical Juſtification?* And here he ſhews, againſt the Cavils of the Animadverter, how the Notion of Juſtification, according to the Goſpel doth include in it neceſſarily, the Acceptance of a Man before God to eternal Life and Salvation, or the *Imputation of Reward*. He

Anſw. *to* Animad. 4. proves the Animadverter to be an Innovator in the Opinion which he would ſet up, and that he widely departs both from the Church of *England*, and from all other reformed Churches, by his attributing to Faith a *cauſal Energy* of Righteouſneſs, diſtinct from that which is proper to it as a Condition of the Evangelical

Anſw. *to* Animad. 5. Covenant. He defends his Paraphraſe of St. *Peter*'s Words recorded in *Acts* x. *ver.* 34, 35. with much Strength againſt the weak and peeviſh Efforts made to oppoſe it: And his In-

Anſw. *to* Animad. 6. 7. terpretation of another Paſſage of the ſame Apoſtle, 1 *Pet.* i. *ver.* 2. not only by the Authority of celebrated Commentators upon it; but even of *Calvin* himſelf: The other Teſtimonies alſo of Scripture, which had been brought by him, to evidence that ſome certain Works are preſcribed as altogether needful to Juſtifica-

tion,

tion, as particularly, *Repentance* and the *Fruits* of it, are ſtrenuouſly Vindicated by him againſt the Negative of his Oppoſer. Whereupon there are Four Queſtions diſcuſſed by him very diſtinctly, to ſet the whole Matter in its true Light, *viz.* 1. *Whether there be any Condition,* properly *ſo called, of the* Evangelical Covenant, *which is not likewiſe a Condition of* Evangelical Juſtification? This Mr. *Gataker* affirms, and Mr. *Bull* denies and proves the contrary. 2. *Whether even granting that there is not one and the ſame Condition of theſe* two, *it be not yet certain, that* Faith *and* Repentance *are the Conditions of one and the ſame* Benefit, *namely of* Evangelical Juſtification? Mr. *Bull* juſtifies the Affirmative hereof, and clears it even to a Demonſtration. 3. *Whether* Forgiveneſs of Sins *doth enter into the Notion or Definition* of Evangelical Juſtification? The Affirmative alſo of this is held by Mr. *Bull*, as the Negative is by both the *Gatakers*, Father and Son: And is defended by many illuſtrious Paſſages of Holy Writ with a great deal of Force and Perſpicuity, not without ſufficient Anſwers to the Objections made by either or both of them. 4. *Whether even granting that* Forgiveneſs of Sins *be not neceſſarily included in the* Notion *of Juſtification Evangelical, it be not yet certain, that there is one and the ſame Condition of* both Benefits, *namely, of* Forgiveneſs *and* Juſtification? And this is determined in the Affirmative by our Author, even from the very Conceſſions of his

Anſw. to Animad. 8. Adverſary, while writing againſt him. After this he diſtinguiſheth very rightly betwixt the *internal* and the *external* Works of Repentance: And demonſtrates, that the former of theſe are abſolutely neceſſary, even to that which is called the *Firſt Juſtification*.

Anſw. to Animad. 9. Then he diſputeth againſt his Adverſary about his Notion of the *Inſtrumentality* of Faith in this great Affair: And he diſtinguiſheth alſo here betwixt a *Phyſical* and a *Moral* Inſtrument; and maketh it evident, that Faith cannot with any Propriety be ſaid to be a *Phyſical Inſtrument* of Juſtification, or even ſo much as a *Moral* one, without a manifeſt Contradiction to the whole Tenor of the New Teſtament. According to which it is demonſtrated by him, that if by a *Moral Inſtrument* be meant *a Condition, or Influence, for the obtaining of Juſtification according to God's Appointment*, then the Converſion of a Sinner to God, out of the Love of God and Charity, hath as proper a Moral Inſtrumentality to this End, as Faith hath, according to the Divine Appointment, as manifeſted in the Goſpel. Upon which Head he hath likewiſe ſome curious and uſeful Obſervations concerning the Diverſity of Phraſes and Terms uſed by the Sacred Writers in this Matter, and the reaſons thereof.

Anſw. to Animad. 10. He proceedeth next to clear himſelf from the Imputation of having cenſured the *Engliſh* Divines for their Precipitancy or Inadvertency in handling this Subject, or at leaſt for their incautious Management hereof,

hereof, ſo as to give ſome Colour to the Exceſſes of the Antinomians, Libertines and Familiſts: And not only ſheweth the groſs Miſtake of his Adverſary, in taking what was meant of ſome Foreign Proteſtant Divines, to concern properly the Divines of the Church of *England*; but retorteth cloſely upon himſelf, that very thing which he ſo warmly complaineth of to him. After this he diſcourſeth againſt the Animadverter's Opinion of the *Imputation of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs*, and diſcovers the ſeveral very abſurd and dangerous Conſequences which neceſſarily accompany it. And he ſheweth in particular, how inconſiſtent ſuch a Notion is, either with the Remiſſion of Sin on God's part, or with Repentance on ours: And how it altogether taketh away the Neceſſity even of Faith itſelf in order to Juſtification; yea, that this being granted, it will thence neceſſarily follow, that a Man's Juſtification is even before his Faith, with other ſuch-like Abſurdities. And laſtly, he proveth how this Notion quite ſubverts the Catholick Doctrine of the Univerſal Propitiation made by the Death of Chriſt for the Sins of the whole World, upon which Doctrine the very Preaching of the Goſpel doth abſolutely depend. Afterwards he Anſwereth alſo the ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture which are uſually brought for ſuch a ſort of Imputation, by ſome ſuperficial Conſiderers, in derogation of the true Terms required of God in the Evangelical Covenant.

Anſw. *to* Animad. 11.

Anſw. to Animad 12. Then he puſhes home his Argument againſt the Solifidians; that whoſoever is juſtified of God by Chriſt, is abſolved by the Law of Chriſt; but no Man is abſolved by the Law of Chriſt by Faith only without Works; and conſequently no Man is ſo juſtified. And in Vindicating this againſt his Adverſary, he expoſeth the Vanity of all his Arguments to the contrary; and ſetteth forth in their proper Colours the fond and erroneous Opinions by him entertained. Particularly, he takes a great deal of Pains in refuting a Fundamental Error of this Writer concerning the *Primary Act* of juſtifying Faith, or the *ratio formalis* of it, which he maketh meerly to conſiſt in *Affiance*, ſtrictly ſo called, that it is an Act of Recumbency upon the Merits of Chriſt and his *imputed* Righteouſneſs, and in laying hold of the Evangelical Promiſes. Whereupon he treats at large of the Difference betwixt *fides* and *fiducia*: And having formed ſeveral *Concluſions* or *Theſes* concerning theſe, he unfoldeth this Matter very diſtinctly and clearly. And thus having hereby overturned the main Pillar of Antinomianiſm, chiefly founded in an equivocal Senſe of Words; he next proceedeth to maintain his Argument taken from the Divine Proceedings at the laſt Day, againſt the Objections of this Animadverter: And on this occaſion maketh the Emptineſs of his Diſtinction appear of a Right *ad rem*, and a Right *in re*, which he had brought to evade the Force of that Argument.

Anſw. to Animad. 13.

Anſw. to Animad. 14.

ment. For Mr. *Bull* proves to him, upon his own very Principles, that whoſoever hath a Title *to* any thing, muſt alſo have a Title *in* it; and on the contrary: So that if Charity hath a Right or Title *in* the Kingdom of Heaven, it muſt alſo have the ſame *to* it, by virtue of the Evangelical Covenant; even as Faith. He examineth after this, both this and his Father's Method of Harmonizing St. *James* and St. *Paul*, being the ſame with that of *Placæus*. This he doth with great Exactneſs, and upon the Review of the whole, compares their Method with his own, that it might the more evidently appear which of them hath the Advantage. Whereupon he defends againſt all the Subtle Attacks of his Adverſary, his own Opinion concerning Faith being always taken in a *complex* Senſe, as comprehenſive of Hope and Charity with good Works, whenſoever, in Scripture, Juſtification is Attributed to it. And argueth, that his Method of reconciling thoſe Apoſtles cannot be new, or of his own Invention, which was approved by ſome of the firſt Reformers, and ſince that by many Eminent Divines of the Reformation. Upon which he produceth a moſt noble Teſtimony of *Zwinglius* to his Purpoſe, out of that Reformer's Commentaries *concerning the true and falſe Religion*; and ſheweth, that this Acceptation of Faith, according to the complex Notion thereof, was ſo generally followed heretofore by our Proteſtant Divines, and ſo well known to all, as it

Anſw. *to* Animad. 15.

Anſw. *to* Animad. 16.

it gave occaſion to *Eſtius* in his Controverſies with us to object, that moſt of our Writers did make *Faith and Charity to be the ſame thing.*

Anſw. to Animad. 17. And then he maketh his Reader ſee how the State of the Queſtion is, by the Animadverter, quite miſtaken concerning the Perfection of the Moſaical Law. Which Law Mr. *Bull* denies to be a Law of moſt perfect Obedience, *in the ſame Senſe* as the Goſpel is ſo. Where, by *a Law of perfect Obedience*, it is plain that he meaneth nothing elſe, but ſuch a Law as requireth of Man the moſt perfect and compleat Righteouſneſs, as a neceſſary Condition of Salvation; according to which it would be impoſſible for any one Man to be ſaved. Whence there cannot be a greater Abſurdity, *he ſays*, than to ſuppoſe the Rule of God's Proceedings in the Day of Judgment to be this *Law of perfect Obedience:* As nothing alſo is more Unſcriptural than to ſuppoſe, that there is any *one* Law which is to be the Standard for *all* in that Day; ſeeing that every one according to St. *Paul* ſhall then be tryed, according to the Law and Diſpenſation under which he lived.

Anſw. to Animad. 18. Now he alloweth the Law of *Moſes* to have had a proper Juſtification belonging to it; and hereupon confirmeth a former diſtinction of his concerning a Juſtification in reſpect to this Life and that which is to come, or to the things of this Mortal State, and of that which is Eternal; or before God and before the World; after the Authority of St. *Ambroſe*

broſe and St. *Auguſtin*. Yea, by many Arguments he proveth, that when St. *Paul* denies any Man to be juſtified by the Law of *Moſes*, the true ground of his Argumentation is, that under the Law there is ſtrictly no manner of true Juſtification, or Remiſſion of Sins, which reacheth beyond this Life; that is under the Law in that relation wherein it is conſidered by the Apoſtle. This he proveth to be the very Foundation on which St. *Paul*, in his Epiſtles, Buildeth; and Anſwers the Arguments for the contrary Opinion defended by his Adverſary. Anſw. to Animad. 19.

Moreover, he defendeth his Explication of this Apoſtle's Argument, drawn from the Weakneſs of the Law of *Moſes*, to deliver a Man from the Dominion of Sin, by farther Proofs of that Matter, and Anſwers to the Exceptions and Objections made againſt what was by him in his *Harmony* advanced. Anſw. to Animad. 20.

And whereas Mr. *Bull* was accuſed of Socinianiſm, for maintaining, that the Law of *Moſes*, having not the Promiſe of Eternal Life, was not ſo very fit to produce in Man a fervent, conſtant, and indefatigable Purſuit of Vertue and Piety; he at once fully clears himſelf from that Charge, and proveth alſo, that the contrary Opinion followed by his Adverſary, which makes Life Eternal to have been promiſed in the Old Teſtament, ſtrictly taken as ſuch, was heretofore condemned in *Pelagius* by the Catholicks; and that this was downright Pelagianiſm in the Opinion of St. *Auguſtin*, that great Aſſer- Anſw. to Animad. 21.

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ter of the Grace of God, as it was ſo alſo eſteemed by St. *Hierom*. Moreover, whereas he had aſſerted that this Law, ſtrictly conſidered as ſuch, containing only *Temporal* Promiſes and Threatnings, was thereby apt to beget in Men but low and earthly Thoughts, he explains his Opinion ſo as to remove all dangerous Conſequences from thence, and defendeth it by the Authority of St. *Auguſtin*, and even of St. *Paul* himſelf in ſeveral moſt expreſs Paſſages to this Purpoſe. And in the laſt Place he moſt evidently proveth, that the true and genuine Senſe of the Church of *England*, in her *Eleventh Article*, was by him acknowledged in his *Harmony*; and that the Senſe which the Animadverter affixeth to it, for being Diametrically oppoſite to the Expoſition thereof by the Church herſelf, as alſo to Scripture and right Reaſon, ought to be rejected by every true Son thereof. This is the Subſtance of what he replied to Mr. *Gataker*, and which might ſerve for an Anſwer not only to him, but to Two or Three others beſides, who had Publickly Animadverted on his Book.

Anſw. to Animad. 22.

Anſw. to Animad. 23.

XXX. Whether this Mr. *Gataker* did live to ſee Mr. *Bull*'s Anſwer to his Animadverſions, I am not able to learn. Nor am I certain whether ever any thing was Printed by him of his own, for the Cauſe he appeared ſo zealous in, as an Anſwer to Mr. *Bull*. I know indeed he Publiſhed a certain *poſthumous* Piece of his Father's, not

Some farther Obſervations of Mr. Gataker's Management of this Controverſy.

not long before, that was left by him imperfect on this very Subject; for which he is chaſtized * by Mr. *Bull*, as one who conſulted not the Reputation of a Parent, who by his great critical Knowledge and other Learning had made himſelf more conſiderable, than to deſerve that ſuch-like Crudities ſhould be put forth under his Name, at leaſt by a Son. It is true, Mr. *Bull* mentioneth a friendly Conference between two conſiderable Divines about the Subject of Juſtification, which he ſaw in Manuſcript; wherein the elder *Gataker*'s Scheme of this Matter was very ingeniouſly delineated, and wrought with no ſmall Care and Pains; but which yet, as to the main, proved not ſatisfactory to either of theſe learned Men. And it is no leſs true, that another of Mr. *Bull*'s Adverſaries doth expreſly mention a Printed Diſcourſe of this younger *Gataker*'s, ſeen by him, † *Wherein he ſignifying his Diſlike of Mr.* Bull's, *propounds a third way to reconcile the Apoſtles* Paul *and* James. But that he did only *ſignifie his diſlike* of Mr. *Bull*'s way, without entring at all into the Merits of the Cauſe; and propoſe *another* way, without troubling himſelf much for an Anſwer to the Arguments brought for that which he profeſſed *to diſlike*, ſeemeth very probable; both

* *Examen Cenſuræ Reſp. ad Animad.* 7. n. 8.

† An Endeavour to rectify ſome prevailing Opinions, &c. *London*, 1671. *Præf.*

becauſe

becauſe Mr. *Bull* in his *Examen* never takes the leaſt Notice of any ſuch Diſcourſe, which he can hardly be ſuppoſed to have utterly forgotten or neglected, had there been found therein but any Appearance of Argument againſt the Scheme, that was by him ſo learnedly and fully defended againſt this very Writer; ſince he is known to have condeſcended ſo far, by Impoſing even a Penance both on his own and his Reader's Patience, as to examine minutely all that he could find urged againſt him, whether conſiderable and inconſiderable, even ſo as not to ſlip the moſt trifling Objections and petty Cavils of this eager Controvertiſt, inaſmuch as he deſigned it to be a thorough Vindication of his Harmony, and would not have one Objection whatſoever left by him unexamined and unconſidered: And alſo becauſe the learned Writer, who makes mention of this Diſcourſe of Mr. *Charles Gataker*, not only judges him miſtaken in the Interpretation of both the Apoſtles, but owns, that Mr. *Bull* had ſaid enough in his *Harmonia Apoſtolica* to make it appear, that he hath not given the right Senſe ſo much as of one of them. Now it appeareth that Mr. *Gataker* Publiſhed his Diſcourſe of *Juſtification* at the ſame time that Mr. *Bull* was writing againſt him, or a little before, that is, in or about the Year 1670; foraſmuch as we find it mentioned the next Year, by the aforeſaid Author, who gives his Character of it, and acquaints

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us withal, that it came not forth till after he had finiſhed his own Reflections upon Mr. *Bull*'s Book. So that it muſt needs have been Printed ſeveral Months after the Publication of the *Harmonia*; and yet at fartheſt in the beginning of the Year 1671. And therefore had there been any thing in it worthy his Notice, it could doubtleſs never have eſcaped our Author's moſt ſtrict Examination.

A Reflection on Mr. Bull's Management of it againſt him.

It muſt here be confeſſed, that Mr. *Bull*, as he was a *Man*, and conſequently ſubject to *Human* Paſſions, being ſo highly provoked by the undeſerved Treatment of him by Mr. *Gataker*, and the unfair Methods which he made uſe of, doth now and then treat him again with more ſeverity than I could have wiſhed. This, the natural Fire and Vivacity of his Temper, with the Senſe of the Injuſtice done not only to himſelf, but to the Cauſe of Truth and Religion, ſeems to have prompted this good Man to, and to have carryed him a little too far, in my Opinion, for the ſake of a Triumph over his Adverſary. For I cannot but think all Controverſies in Matters of Religion are then beſt handled, and with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs, when they are managed calmly without all particular Reſentments, and with all the Tenderneſs that is poſſible towards thoſe Perſons whom we are endeavouring to reclaim into the way of Truth. And that, eſpecially, nothing can be more unbecoming the Character of Divines, than for them

them who are to be the Meſſengers of Peace to wrangle one with another about the way; and in the mean time thereby to neglect the great Things of their Meſſage, and ſuch as accompany Peace. But if where the Provocation was ſo exceſſive, as in this Caſe, and the Goodneſs of his Cauſe ſo very clear, and ſo acknowledged by the beſt Judges, the Zeal of Mr. *Bull* might ſometimes happen to tranſport him a little in the very Conflict with his Adverſary, and cauſe him to go beyond the Meaſures of a pacifick Writer; he was ſtill careful to adhere moſt ſtrictly to the Truth, without Partiality or Reſpect of Perſons; and was ready to alter and expunge any thing in his Writings, that through too much Severity might be apt to give Offence, and ſo to hinder the good Effects of his Labour of Love for reconciling Perſons to the Truth, This made him ſubmit ſo freely all what he had Thoughts of Publiſhing to the Cenſure of his learned Friends, that they might not only conſider the Argument, but ſoften alſo what they ſhould ſee fit in the Expreſſion. And notwithſtanding that the elder *Gataker* appeareth to have been no leſs againſt the Opinion Mr. *Bull* defended than his Son *Charles*, yet Mr. *Bull* treats him with abundance of Reſpect, as often as he hath Occaſion to mention him; giveth the Titles of **Doctiſſimus* and *Pientiſſimus* to him; allows him

* *Reſponſ. ad Animad.* 7. & 15.

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to have been really a considerable Person; and the Scheme which he had formed of this Matter, to be at least very ingenious; saying moreover, that he held his Memory in Honour, and would himself, were his Son silent in it, proclaim his Praise; and where he dissents from him, answers his Arguments without any Reflection.

An Account of the eldest Gataker, *and how* Mr. Bull, *came to be engaged with him.*

This Mr. *Thomas Gataker* when he was young, began to preach upon the Epistle of St. *James*, in the Reign of King *James* the First, this Subject being about that time much agitated by some eminent Divines of our Church: And according to his * Son's Relation, seemeth to have preached it thorough, or to have given at least at *methodical* Explication of the whole Design thereof, and of the more considerable Parts relating to his Purpose. And a little before the breaking out of the Civil Wars, when most of the Pulpits of *London* were hotly contesting and fighting about the Grace of God, and the *Method* of Man's Justification by it, he resumed his former Task, being sincerely desirous of reconciling their Differences, and of promoting Peace and Truth together; for which End as he had before preached upon St. *James*, in like manner as Mr. *Bull* also began first with him, he

* *A. D.* 1617. Aggressus in concionibus B. Jacobi Epistolam explicare, quòd Dei ope methodo accuratissima peregit. *Animad.* 15. ad *Dissert.* 2. *cap.* 3.

now proceeded to preach upon St. *Paul*, and took alſo the very ſame Text for his Diſcourſe which Mr. *Bull* pitched on for his ſecond Diſſertation. About the Year 1651, the good old Man began to look over his looſe Papers upon this Subject, and the Fragments or Heads of his Sermons for harmonizing theſe two Apoſtles, with a Deſign of fitting for the Preſs, the Subſtance of what he had occaſionally delivered from the Pulpit. But he being now broken, and very old, was not able to finiſh what he undertook. And all his Papers falling to his Son upon his Death, which followed very quickly, theſe were by him, out of an Over-fondneſs to all his Father's Performances, publiſhed with all their Imperfections, to the no ſmall Diſparagement both of his own, and his Father's Name, as before was hinted.

XXXI. *The Occaſion and Motives of Mr.* Truman's *writing againſt the* Harmonia.

Not long after this, Mr. *Joſeph Truman* a Man of a cooler Head than the younger *Gataker*, and one alſo not unacquainted with the ancient Fathers, who had before written and publiſhed a ſhort Diſcourſe concerning the Apoſtle *Paul*'s Meaning of *Juſtification by Faith without Works*, finding ſome of his Opinions therein advanced, to be not only ſhaken by the *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, but to be in Danger of being perfectly routed; and p rceiving alſo that the Sentiments contrary to his did very much daily prevail by the reading of that Trea-

Treatiſe, ſet himſelf to write an Anſwer in *Engliſh*, to that Part of it which chiefly concerned himſelf. Which Anſwer was afterwards publiſhed by him under the Title of *An Endeavour to rectify ſome prevailing Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of* England: By the Author of *The great Propitiation.* " In the Preface to which, the Reader " is made acquainted that about half a Year " after that he had publiſhed ſome Sermons, entituled *The great Propitiation*, whereto was " added that ſhort Diſcourſe aforeſaid concerning *Juſtification by Faith* in the Senſe of St. " *Paul*; there came forth a learned Book called " *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, written by Mr. *George* " *Bull*, which quite croſſing the Interpretation " he had given of St. *Paul*, he was occaſioned " by ſome Occurrences, which it concerned " not the Reader to know, to write the Subſtance of thoſe Reflections upon it for ſome " private Uſe." For he telleth us they were written without any Deſign of printing them, within three Months after the coming forth of the ſaid Book; but were not publiſhed till about two Years after, when he obſerved how faſt *ſome Opinions* got ground in the Church of *England*, contrary to his Expoſition thereof; which was attributed by him in a great meaſure to Mr. *Bull*, and more eſpecially to the latter part of his Performance.

His Cenſure how different from that of Mr. Gataker, *and how favourable to Mr.* Bull.

For Mr. *Truman* could find nothing to object againſt the former part of it, nor even a-

gainſt ſeveral Chapters of the latter; nay he condemned Mr. *Gataker* for writing againſt him in this Point, affirming that he did not give the right Interpretation either of St. *James* or St. *Paul*; and for the Proof hereof he referred his Reader to his own Diſcourſe before mentioned, and even to Mr. *Bull* alſo, whom he allowed to have written ſatisfactorily in many things, and to have ſufficiently refuted his Hypotheſis for the Reconciliation of theſe two Apoſtles, however ingenious this might poſſibly appear at firſt View. Now nothing could happen more honourable to Mr. *Bull* than this Teſtimony from an Adverſary in his Favour, recommending his Book to be read by all ſuch as were willing to have a clear and full View of the Controverſy; yielding ſo great a part of it to contain a fair Explication and Vindication of the Truth; and preferring his Performance to that of one who appeared after him, not without ſeveral conſiderable Advantages and Aſſiſtances from the learned Notes of an eminent Divine, and celebrated Critick, that for many Years together had made this his particular Study. Whether * *the way to Truth and Peace*, which was publiſhed under the Name of Mr. *Charles Gataker*, in Order to a *Reconciliation between St.* Paul *and St.* James *concerning Juſtification*, were really his own or his Father's is not material to be known: But

* *London*, 4to. 1670.

it

it is certain that both Mr. *Bull* and Mr. *Truman* did agree in this, that it was already anſwered ſufficiently before ever it did appear; and that neither *Truth* nor *Peace* could ſolidly be eſtabliſhed by the *way* therein taken.

How he agreed and diſagreed with Mr. Bull.

Theſe two go more than halfway together, being perfectly agreed about Faith, and not diſagreeing in the Excluſion of ſeveral ſorts of *modern Reconcilers*: but they differ about the *Law*, and the true Extent of its Notion; or they ſeem at leaſt to differ more than perhaps they really do. For that which Mr. *Bull* calls *ipſiſſimum Evangelium* or the *very Goſpel*, is called by Mr. *Truman* the *Law* in the moſt perfect Senſe of it. And hence according to one the Goſpel may very truly be ſaid to be *a Law of moſt perfect Obedience*, while according to the other the Moſaical Law may as truly be ſaid to be *ſuch*; that is with different Reſpects and Views. The one is very large in ſhewing the Defects of the Law, and how it both wanted an *external Help* for Encouragement of perfect Obedience to it, being the Promiſe of eternal Life; and an *internal One*, being the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt: And the other is no leſs ſo in ſhewing the Perfection of it, and how it wanted neither one Help nor the other. And as Mr. *Bull* hath many ſtrong Arguments for the *Diſability* of the Law, either to work true Sanctification in Man, or to lay hold on eternal Life: So hath Mr. *Truman* many others for the *Ability* of the

ſame Law, as taken in his Senſe, in order to attain theſe very Ends. It is certain that they had both of them different Views; but it is not quite ſo certain that they both had always different *Opinions*, when they expreſſed themſelves after different *ways*. And of this it were eaſy to give Inſtances, if it were here neceſſary.

How ſome concurred with him in the very Offence taken, for whom Mr. Bull *had otherwiſe an Eſteem.*

But moreover there were beſides Mr. *Truman* not a few others, and thoſe both learned and pious in Mr. *Bull*'s own Judgment, who were not able ſo perfectly to digeſt the ſeventh Chapter of his ſecond Diſſertation, which treateth of the twofold Defect of the Law of *Moſes*, and maintaineth that this Law cannot abſolutely and without any Conſideration be called a Rule of *perfect Obedience*. Some there were more violent than the reſt, of whom he complaineth, That they made very tragical Outcries againſt him, as if by ſuch an Hypotheſis as this, "the whole Syſtem of "Orthodox Divinity ſhould be ſhaken, yea "broken to pieces, and utterly deſtroyed; "and that the very Foundations both of Law "and Goſpel were hereby at once undermi-"ned and overturned." As for them that were not ſo outragious, but ſhewed themſelves to be of a true Chriſtian Temper, and not far from the Truth, our learned Harmoniſt was ready and willing to give them all the Satisfaction that was in his Power; profeſſing at the ſame time that he did not inſiſt on this Matter

Matter as neceſſary for the Reconciliation of St. *James* with St. *Paul*; but that he did ſubmit it to better Judgments, having only made the Propoſal for the ſake of Truth and Peace, with a Deſire that it might be freely and impartially conſidered. Indeed as he propoſed his Opinion to the Learned, not to the Vulgar, by writing in a Language which none but the Learned underſtood: So he expected that they who ſhould undertake to anſwer his Arguments, would follow alſo his Method therein, and not trouble the Heads of the Weak and the Unlearned with *doubtful Diſputations*, and Matters above their Reach to judge of with any Exactneſs, by appealing to them in their own native Language; and this when the Controverſy was at firſt otherwiſe laid, and brought up from the Pulpit, and conſequently from the Common People, to be debated and decided by the Learned. Therefore he was not at all pleaſed that Mr. *Truman* ſhould bring it down again.

How he came to write againſt Mr. Bull in Engliſh rather than in Latin.

Indeed it would ſeem very abſurd for any one to anſwer a *Latin* Treatiſe in *Engliſh*; and eſpecially if it were purpoſely written in *Latin*, that it might not fall promiſcuouſly into the Hands of the common *Engliſh* Readers, for fear of diſturbing their Brains with certain Arguments not ſuited to their Capacity; as plainly was the Caſe of Mr. *Bull*. But then on the other ſide it muſt be owned that Mr. *Truman* had publiſhed the very ſame Year in

which Mr. *Bull's Harmonia Apoſtolica* appeared, and ſome Months too before it, his Treatiſe of the * *Great Propitiation*, which had been well received by ſome learned Men of the Church of *England*, and particularly by that great and zealous Aſſerter of Primitive Antiquity Biſhop *Gunning*, who for the ſake thereof, deſired to be acquainted with the Author though a Diſſenter. So that he was really the firſt of the two in this Controverſy, wherein they were both engaged unknown to each other. And beſides this, as the ſaid *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, was the firſt-born of Mr. *Bull's* Productions, ſo was likewiſe the *great Propitiation* of Mr. *Truman's*, and both alike favoured by them as ſuch. In the Treatiſe of the former which was laſt printed, we have the Sum of what he preached at ſeveral Times, ſet forth for the Uſe of the Learned, together with a very learned Vindication thereof, from Scripture, Reaſon, and Antiquity, in a Language and Style proper only to them; but in the Treatiſe of the latter, which was firſt printed, there is contained the Subſtance of ſeveral Sermons preached upon that great Article of our Religion, and made publick in the ſame Language in which they were preached, for the Uſe of the Unlearned as well as the Learned. Whence having firſt publiſhed his Opinion in *Engliſh*, both from the Pulpit and the

* *London*, 1669.

Preſs,

Preſs, Mr. *Truman* thought he had a right to vindicate it in the ſame Language, notwithſtanding that the ſtrongeſt Arguments againſt it were delivered in a *Latin* Treatiſe, to which therefore a *Latin* Anſwer was not without Reaſon expected. And farther conſidering that this Matter had been firſt debated by the moſt learned and pious Dr. *Hammond*, in *Engliſh* alſo, whom Mr. *Bull* is ſuppoſed by this Author to follow; he concluded to write on in the vulgar Tongue rather than in the learned.

Beſides both which, he ſeemeth to have had another Motive for writing alſo againſt Mr. *Bull*, and for his writing againſt him in *Engliſh* rather than *Latin*; which was that by expoſing certain Doctrines and Opinions, *as contrary to the Doctrine of the Church* of England, which were by the moſt eminent Divines thereof maintained at that time, and by Mr. *Bull* then defended with great Learning and Force in his ſaid Book, he might under the Pretext of *rectifying* them, and of *compoſing many Differences in Opinion*, to uſe his own Words, add ſome weight to his Reaſons for Separation, from the Maintainers of them, and from the Society whereof they were Members. For it looks as if it were his Deſign to ſhew hereby, that he was no ſuch Separatiſt from the Church of *England*, whoſe *Doctrines* he would appear as heartily to embrace, as ſome who lived in her Boſom; and that many abiding in her *miniſterial Communion* were yet greater *Non-Conformiſts*,

miſts, than ever he was; while profeſſing themſelves to be Divines of the Church of *England*, they nevertheleſs departed, as he thought, from the very Principles on which the Reformation was founded. It was his Misfortune, upon the *Act of Uniformity*, not to be thoroughly ſatisfyed in all that was required of him for his Continuance in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry; and he was jealous of ſome Advances made towards *Socinianiſm*, as well as carrying too high a Controverſy about things in their Nature *indifferent*. But he endeavoured ſtill to keep a fair Correſpondence with the Church of *England*, to ſpeak of her with Eſteem, to make honourable mention of her Biſhops, to expreſs himſelf as one of her Members, and actually to defend *Lay-Communion* with her. And therefore he would not be thought to have written againſt her by ſuch an Eſſay as this; which was very probably intended by him for his own Juſtification: And to inſinuate that there might be more Danger to be apprehended by the *Church of* England from a Non-Conformity to her *Doctrines*, than from one to her *Diſcipline*. Theſe I take to be the chief Motives of his undertaking to write againſt Mr. *Bull* and others, and of making this his publick Appeal, not in *Latin* as Mr. *Bull* had done, but in *Engliſh*, as properly concerning the *Engliſh* Church. I muſt now give ſome Account of what he hath performed in this Enterprize ſo far as our Author

is

is concerned with him; without which the Hiſtory of this Controverſy, and of the Works, conſequently of ſo great a Man of our Church would remain but very imperfect. To proceed then,

XXXII. *An Account of the ſeveral Treatiſes publiſhed by him againſt the Doctrine and Method of Mr.* Bull.

Mr. *Truman* having publiſhed about the beginning of the Year 1669 his *great Propitiation* aforeſaid, wherein the Article of Juſtification was neceſſarily treated of, for a fuller Illuſtration of the ſame he added an *Appendix* to it, concerning the Meaning of the Apoſtle *Paul*, in treating this Subject; in which he will have the Apoſtle to diſpute againſt Juſtification by *perfect Obedience to the Law*, as a thing impoſſible to Man in this Life; and our Lord not to have added any thing new to the Law in his Sermon on the Mount, but only to have vindicated it from corrupt Interpretations. For without conſidering at all the Infirmity of the Law, as being referred to by the Apoſtle, he inſiſted that not only an outward Obedience to it was required of God, but alſo that which was inward and perfect; and that therefore a Man was bound by it to live perfectly, and free from all manner of Sin, both outwardly and inwardly, looking beyond temporal Promiſes and Threats to thoſe that are eternal. And beſides this he ſeemed to maintain that a Man might be obliged to do ſomewhat, which it was not in his Power to do; and might alſo be juſtly puniſhed for not doing it, where the Diſability

Diſability or Impotence was not *natural*, but proceeded *originally* from his own Fault.

Now when after this another Scheme for the Interpretation of St. *Paul* was brought forth by Mr. *Bull*, which he found to contradict his in ſome material Points, or at leaſt not to be eaſily reconcileable with it, he ſet himſelf hereupon to defend his own Scheme, as the only orthodox one, thinking that Mr. *Bull* would make *an intolerable Change in the very Subſtance of the Body of Divinity*. And in this View he publiſhed not very long afterward, *A Diſcourſe of natural and moral Impotency*, upon the Principles laid down in his former Diſcourſe; in which ſome Chapters of Mr. *Bull*'s ſecond Diſſertation are indirectly attacked. For he looked upon this Diſtinction to be of ſuch Importance in Divinity, as that they who ſhould ſpeak or write of the Controverſies about Juſtification, Grace, Free-Will, the Law of Works, Faith, Evangelical Perfection, and ſuch like, without keeping clear Notions about this, would certainly ſpeak and write like Children concerning them, though otherwiſe never ſo capable and learned: As alſo that a Perſon but of ordinary Underſtanding, by keeping to this Diſtinction, might competently ſatisfie himſelf and others (if willing to be ſatisfyed) in ſuch Controverſies as have poſed the greateſt Wits and Scholars that deviate from it. This he hath treated at large with great metaphyſical Subtlety for the Learned, and

and with ſufficient Plainneſs in the practical Inferences for the Uſe of the Unlearned. Notwithſtanding which, whatever he might pretend, he appeared to ſeveral *to teach here a new Divinity*, and to deliver ſtrange Opinions and Doctrines very *remote from the common Sentiments of Men*, according as he himſelf was indeed ſenſible of before-hand. Wherefore he prudently abſtaineth from mentioning of Names, that none might hereby be provoked againſt him, as he was not without Reaſon apprehenſive of. And without telling his own Name, that he might not either expoſe himſelf, or do any Prejudice thereby to a Cauſe he was ſo fond of; he cared not to let the World know any more of him, than that he *lived obſcurely*, and was the Author of ſuch a Book, as had not been ill received by the Publick.

There are two Editions of this Diſcourſe, which becauſe they afford an Occaſion to Mr. *Bull* of giving us his more mature and accurate Thoughts upon ſo nice a Subject, will deſerve not to be forgotten: The one was taken Care of by himſelf, but the other by a Friend after his Deceaſe, with ſome Additions left by the Author under his own Hand, and particularly an *Appendix* for farther clearing up and vindicating the ſame Diſcourſe, in which he declareth his Opinion concerning the *Propagation of the Soul and Sin.* This ſecond Edition had his Name put to it, and his Quality. The Principles upon which he here goeth are theſe,

theſe, 1. No Man is bound by any Law of God or Man, farther than his natural Faculties and Powers reach. 2. A Man is bound by the Law of God, ſo far as theſe natural Powers do reach, and his greateſt Averſation of Will to obey the ſame will not excuſe him, but rather add to his Inexcuſableneſs. 3. Such an Averſation of Will in Man doth certainly hinder his Compliance with God's Commandments, till God takes it away; or till by ſome *ſuper-effluence of Grace*, which he is not in Juſtice bound to afford, he overcometh this Reluctance of the Will. Whence this Author inferreth, and laboureth to prove, 1. That a Man's culpable Impotency lyeth only in a Diſability to do what he hath a Power to do; or in his not being able to do in *one* Senſe, what he can do in *another*. And, 2. That the Effect of divine Grace conſiſteth not barely in a Man's receiving from God a Power to obey his Commands; but in ſomething over and beſide, to cauſe a Man to do what he is bound to do, and would be to blame for not doing. Theſe Principles and Inferences were afterwards examined by Mr. *Bull*, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, on occaſion of his laſt Treatiſe, which came out ſoon after to back this, and is directly levelled againſt our Author, out of whoſe *Harmonia Apoſtolica* he hath tranſlated ſeveral Leaves together, and almoſt whole Chapters, thinking to overthrow his Hypotheſis by ſome Arguments which he hath brought againſt it,

and

and to establish his own. And in this last Book, wherein he expresseth so much his Concern for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and his Zeal to correct the Opinions of some learned Men in her Communion contrary to it; he frequently referreth to the aforesaid Discourse, wherein he had laid down these Principles, and drawn several Corollaries from them to his Purpose. And of this as particular an Account as is needful, for the perfect understanding the History of the Works of so great a Bishop in our Church, and of so eminent a defender of the Catholick Faith, will not surely be altogether unacceptable; since it must needs contribute more than a little to the right stating of certain Questions, which the Generality of People are ordinarily for considering but on one side only; and to the giving a fair Prospect of the Arguments on both sides, without Passion or Prejudice, that upon summing up of the whole, it may be more easy for any one to judge on which side the Advantage doth lie.

An Account of the Design and Method of his last Treatise.

Now therefore he saith that the learned Author's Design is very commendable, that his whole first Dissertation concerning the Sense of the Apostle *James*, in affirming Justification by Works as a Condition, is acute, solid, and cogent: And not only this, but that so also is all generally in his second Dissertation to the fifth Chapter, and part of it. And he is intirely one with him, so long as he

he explaineth or defendeth the Meaning of St. *James*, or diſcovereth the Weakneſs and Falſhood of the Attempts of many Writers, deſigning to reconcile the ſeemingly contrary Expreſſions of this Apoſtle with thoſe of St. *Paul*: Yea he thinketh what is written by our Author hereupon is highly worth the reading of any that have other Apprehenſions of the Meaning of *James*, or that are not ſatisfyed that the Apoſtle *Paul* by *Faith* meaneth the whole neceſſary Duty of a Chriſtian. Moreover he granteth and lamenteth, that many important Doctrines of the *Reformed Churches* are frequently by too many groſly explained, ſo as to have ill Conſequences flowing from them; which if rightly underſtood, would be found not to patronize but to diſown ſuch Conſequences. And particularly in the Proteſtant Doctrine of Juſtification by *Faith*, according to St. *Paul*, he granteth Mr. *Bull* to have rightly interpreted what this Apoſtle meaneth by *Faith*, and conſequently to have rightly explained the Doctrine of the *Reformed Churches* therein, while he proveth that we are to underſtand, *not one ſingle Virtue by* Faith, *but the whole Goſpel-Condition, the whole Duty required for Salvation, as the Obedience of Faith.* So that the whole Controverſy of Mr. *Truman* with him is only about that part of the ſecond Diſſertation which undertaketh to prove what St. *Paul* meant by *Works of the Law*. And Mr. *Bull* is charged with following herein the

Opinion of Dr. *Hammond*, as it is laid down in his *practical Catechiſm*, very fully.

Now the firſt great Miſtakes as he will have them, the πρῶτα ψεύδη, in that part of Mr. *Bull*'s Book, which he eſteemeth the Occaſion of all his other Miſtakes, in Relation to the Apoſtle *Paul*'s Senſe in denying Juſtification by Works, and indeed of the Miſtakes alſo of many other learned Authors (as *Epiſcopius*, Biſhop *Taylor*, *&c.*) being much of his Judgment in the Particulars here diſputed of; are made to be theſe: *viz.* 1. His concluding that there is no Law which propoſeth future Rewards and Puniſhments, but the Goſpel or Law of Grace. 2. His not conſidering the Difference between an *original* Law and a *remedying* Law, or conditional Act of Oblivion diſtinct from that firſt Law. 3. His not underſtanding the Difference between *natural* and *moral* Impotence. 4. His Notions of the Law of *Moſes*, as having only temporal Promiſes and Threats annexed to it, and being void of ſpiritual and internal Commands. Theſe he ſuppoſeth to be the fundamental Miſtakes of Mr. *Bull*, and other learned Divines in the Church of *England*, which he endeavoureth to confute to the utmoſt of his Power, and muſt be acknowledged to have ſaid ſome things hereupon that ſeem not inconſiderable.

Principal Miſtakes charged upon Mr. Bull, p. 4. *and Pref.* p. 2.

p. 4.

p. 14.

p. 19.

p. 22.

XXXIII.

The Principles of Mr. Truman *oppoſite to theſe.*

For becauſe he knew not of any that had ſpoken exactly and ſatisfactorily of the Law, in

the ſeveral Notions and Acceptations of it, nor in all things rightly, at leaſt not comprehenſively enough in his Opinion; he thought it neceſſary to write ſomewhat largely and diſtinctly concerning it; in order to deſtroy both Mr. *Bull*'s Hypotheſis, and likewiſe to lay a Foundation for the right underſtanding not only of the Paſſages of the Apoſtle in Debate, but of other Paſſages alſo of the New Teſtament, reſpecting the Law; and particularly of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where *Law*, he thinks, is to be taken in a different Senſe from that wherein it is in the Places now in diſpute. His Thoughts upon the Matter in ſhort are theſe: That the Law of *Moſes* may be conſidered either as to *temporal* Reſpects only, or as to the Concerns of the *Life to come*, and that under both theſe Reſpects it ought to be again conſidered, either as the *original* Law itſelf, or as the *remedying* Law to it. And accordingly he hath four ſeveral Notions and Interpretations of the Law. *Firſt*, he conſidereth p. 25. it in the external political Senſe, wherein it had only as *temporal* Puniſhments of Offences, ſo only *temporal* Promiſes of Peace, Proſperity and long Life in the Land of *Canaan*, upon Obedience to the Law; and alſo had *in this Senſe* no ſpiritual or internal Precepts. However, he maintaineth the Law in this ſtrict temporal Senſe to be a Shadow both of future Puniſhments to every Tranſgreſſion internal and external, and of future heavenly Felicity

to

to perfect Obedience. *Secondly*, he conſidereth the ſame Law, as comprehending in it a *remedying* Law as to theſe temporal Severities, or as affording Pardon upon Sacrifice, for the greateſt Number of Tranſgreſſions. And ſo he will have it, that this political and temporal Law was a ſort of *little Goſpel* in reality; being *a Law of Pardon*, as to the temporal Puniſhment that was therein threatned; and a Shadow alſo, or Pattern and Repreſentation of its own Goſpel-Favour in admitting the Tranſgreſſors thereof to Grace and Pardon, with regard to *eternal* Puniſhment, on the account of the great Satisfaction to come, that was typified by ſuch Sacrifices. *Thirdly*, he conſidereth it as a Law of *Conſcience*, eſſentially reſpecting the future State, and requiring Obedience to all therein commanded, under the Peril of future Death or Wrath to come; for that otherwiſe there would be no Pardon or Satisfaction by Chriſt, for the Wrath to come, which by this Law is due to Sin. And in this ſtrict Senſe he will have St. *Paul* to uſe the word *Law* in the moſt of thoſe Places in Diſpute, and which are inſiſted on by Mr. *Bull* to reconcile them to St. *James*. And in this Senſe he ſaith the Law was no Type or Shadow, nor to vaniſh away, but that it ſtandeth in Force to this very Day. *Laſtly*, he conſi- p. 35.
dereth it as a Law of *Grace*, revealing that the Puniſhment made due to the Tranſgreſſor, by the Law in its firſt and ſtrict Senſe, might

yet be pardoned; and he ſhould enjoy notwithſtanding this, the promiſed Life to come, on Condition he did repent, and ſincerely endeavour Obedience for the future to all God's Laws, with the whole bent of Heart and Soul. And in this Senſe he ſaith the Law was no Type or Shadow at all, but the very Goſpel it ſelf, and that *Word of Faith* which the Apoſtles preached: And that in this very Senſe alſo *David* took the Law in moſt of his Encomiums of it. Whence he concludeth, that Juſtification and Salvation are not denied to it, or to the *Works* of it, by the Apoſtle, either to Jews or Chriſtians; foraſmuch as it ſtill continueth the ſame for Subſtance, having the ſame Sanction and Condition, or Precept in general; namely, that upon our Repentance and ſincere Obedience, God will juſtifie and ſave us from all our Sins. And accordingly,

His Interpretation of the Threats and Promiſes of the O. Teſtament with a fourfold reſpect.

He interpreteth both the Threatnings and Promiſes of the Law, as having four different Significations. Thus concerning that ſolemn Malediction, *Curſed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the Book of the Law, to do them*, he ſaith it did notify theſe four diſtinct Sanctions, with their diſtinct Conditions: *viz.* 1. Every one ſhall be puniſhed with a *violent temporal* Death, or ſuch Death ſhall be due to him, that obſerveth not every *external* Precept of the Law. 2. Every one ſhall be puniſhed with the aforeſaid Death without Remedy, that offendeth either in the

great

great Inſtances exempted from Pardon, or in other *leſſer* Faults, not obſerving the Sacrifices appointed for the Expiation of theſe. 3. *Future* Death, or Wrath to come, is due to every one that obeyeth not every Commandment both *internal* and *external*. And 4. This future or ſecond Death ſhall without Remedy befal every ſuch Offender againſt the Law, he not *repenting* of his Sins, and ſincerely endeavouring Obedience to every Precept thereof, *internal* and *external*. And to the like extenſive import he will have alſo the Promiſe or Bleſſing annexed to the Law, to be interpreted. Now he ſuppoſeth the not underſtanding this fourfold Diſtinction of the Moſaical Covenant, and of its Curſings and Bleſſings, or Threats and Promiſes, to have led Mr. *Bull* into ſome Miſtakes, in determining what St. *Paul* meaneth by Works and by the Law; and conſequently in his denying Juſtification by the Works of the Law.

His Opinion of the Horeb Covenant, *and that made in the Land of* Moab. Har. Apoſt. *cap.* 7.

And whereas Mr. *Bull* is very particular and full in diſtinguiſhing between the *Horeb Covenant* recorded in the 20th, 21ſt, 22d and 23d Chapters of *Exodus*, and the Covenant made in the Land of *Moab*, recorded in the 29th and 30th Chapters of *Deuteronomy*; as having quite different Promiſes and Precepts, the one carnal and earthly, the other ſpiritual and heavenly: Mr. *Truman* on the other ſide maintaineth, that they are not two but one and the ſame Covenant, by many Arguments which he

Endeavours to rectify. P. 53.

bringeth from Hiſtory, and the Reaſon of Fact. And whereas Mr. *Bull* alſo, after *Epiſcopius*, Dr. *Hammond*, Biſhop *Taylor*, and others of great Name, doth aſſert the Promiſes and Threats of the Moſaick Law to be only and properly temporal; his Adverſary hath inſerted a pretty large Diſſertation concerning the Spirituality of this Law, and the Sanction thereof, even by Rewards and Puniſhments in another Life, which containeth ſome Obſervations not to be deſpiſed.

p. 119. *to* p. 202.

His Sentiments concerning the Nature of the Moſaick *Law.*

He granteth the Law of *Moſes* to have no ſpiritual Commands, Threats, or Promiſes, as it was the *Inſtrument of the Jewiſh Polity*, but judgeth it cannot be ſo meant in thoſe Paſſages of St. *Paul* in Debate, to be reconciled to St. *James*, according to the Principles he had before laid down and explained. He bringeth a great Number of Paſſages out of the *Pſalms*, ſeveral of them being cited and referred to in the New Teſtament, with a Deſign to ſhew that it is notoriouſly contrary to the Expreſſions of *David* concerning the judaical Law, to deny that it had ſpiritual Commands together with Promiſes and Threats, relating to the World to come. He confirmeth this by the Encomiums of the Law given by St. *Paul* himſelf, calling it *ſpiritual* and himſelf *carnal*, expreſſing his Delight therein *after the inward Man*, and declaring it to be *holy, juſt and good*. He urgeth, that if the Promiſes and Threatnings of the Law as ſuch, were only carnal

carnal and temporal, then none would have been bound to true Piety by that Law: But on the contrary, the Jews would have done well in ſuffering themſelves to be bound to the Earth by the Profits and Delights thereof; and in alienating their Minds from true Piety, by yielding to ſuch an earthly and fordid Temper, as ſuch a Law was apt in its own Nature to beget. He inſiſteth that God would never have been angry with the Jews for not being wrought upon to real Piety by the Law, if that were ſo very defective. He ſaith farther, if by that Law no future Miſery beyond this Life was announced againſt the Tranſgreſſor, there would have been no Man bound to ſuffer it; yea that Chriſt could not ſuffer any thing by way of Satisfaction as to the Curſe of the Life to come; nor any one be pardoned his Tranſgreſſion, as to Puniſhment after this Life, if no ſuch Puniſhment was ever threatened by it. He argueth that theſe Threats and Promiſes, concerning a future Life, muſt have been ſo plain in the Law, as People with the uſe of ordinary means might underſtand them. He aſſerteth, without this were ſo, they had been excuſeable before God, and would not have been condemned for not being truly pious. He maintaineth that this was the current Opinion of the Jews, and that they did ordinarily believe that the Law *promiſed* future Life, and *threatned* future Miſery. For the Truth of which he appealeth to

all the old Jewiſh Writers extant, and particularly to the *Talmud*; wherein among three ſorts of Men that are named to have no Portion in the World to come, theſe are eſteemed one who ſhall ſay, *The Reſurrection of the Dead is not taught by the Law*: And to the ancient *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, in both of which there is expreſs mention of *Eternal Life*. Moreover he urgeth, that the Errors of the Sadducees in denying a future Life, was occaſioned by their not underſtanding the Scriptures, thereby meaning the Old Teſtament, and more eſpecially the Books of *Moſes* or the *Pentateuch*; which could not be ſaid, if the Scriptures revealed no ſuch thing, as Happineſs to the Obedient, and Unhappineſs to the Diſobedient in a future State. Yea he confirmeth this by the very Argument of our Lord himſelf, and by his Command to *ſearch the Scriptures*, when there were none beſides thoſe of the Old Teſtament, with a View of finding by them Eternal Life: As likewiſe by the ſolemn Appeal of St. *Paul* expreſſing his Faith of *another* Life, both for the Godly and the Wicked, according to what he found *written in the Law* as well as *in the Prophets*. And here he offereth ſeveral Arguments both from the Old and the New Teſtament, to ſhew that the Jews had *Promiſes* in their Law of a future Bleſſedneſs, if they were found obedient to it: Alſo that they had clearer Promiſes of a future State, than the Gentiles by the Law

Law of Nature could have: And that all that they had more of this Hope of Immortality, was to be aſcribed wholly to the Covenant of Promiſe, revealed in the Old Teſtament, and particularly in the Book of the Law itſelf. This he ſaith likewiſe was the perfect Law of Grace converting the Soul, and giving Life to Men converted; by which *Moſes*, *Samuel*, and *David* being under it, were juſtified and ſaved.

He commendeth Mr. *Bull* for ſo interpreting St. *Paul*, as to ſhew that *Abraham* had no Cauſe to boaſt before God of any thing in the Matter of his Juſtification: And that the Reward imputed to him could not be *of Debt*, as it uſeth to be given to *Works*, but of *mere Grace*. Nor hath he ſo much as one Word to ſay againſt his Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in her *Eleventh Article*; but fully agreeth with him, that by the Words of the Article there is not attributed any Efficacy or Dignity to Faith, more than to other Vertues, in the Buſineſs of Juſtification. Our excellent Author hath taken no ſmall Pains in the *ſecond part* of his *Harmony* to ſhelter himſelf from the Charge of Heterodoxy, and to prove in particular the Judgment of the Church of *England*, even in that very Article that eſtabliſheth Juſtification by Faith only, not to be againſt him but to make for him: And his Adverſary here confeſſeth as much, and ſaith expreſly, *I diſlike not this at all.*

His Commendation of Mr. Bull, *and Agreement with him in ſome material Points,* p. 216. p. 276.

And

And indeed there are ſo many things in Mr. *Bull* which he diſliketh not, that I know not whether I ought to call him his Adverſary or his Friend.

XXXIV. *His Diſſatisfaction both with Dr.* Hammond *and Mr.* Bull *about their Notions of Grace.*

And whereas he declareth himſelf not at all ſatisfied with what our Author hath ſaid of the Neceſſity of *Grace*, and of Man's Diſability to do any Good without the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, becauſe he telleth us not explicitely enough what he meaneth by this Grace, and what the Effect of it is; yet he falleth moſt foul upon Dr. *Hammond*, ſuppoſing Mr. *Bull* to have the ſame common Notions with him about it. So that he maketh here but an indirect Attack againſt Mr. *Bull*'s Book, complaining that his Notions about this Matter did lie more remote from vulgar Apprehenſions than Dr. *Hammond*'s; Mr. *Bull* ſpeaking but little *ex profeſſo*, to declare what he meant by Grace, ſo that he was not eaſily or preſently underſtood. He chargeth however both him and the Doctor with a low and mean Opinion concerning *Grace*, which if *practically held*, would be deſtructive to all Piety, and in particular to the very Conſtitution and Offices of the Church of *England*. For he is ſo charitable as to grant, that Men *may hold Errors deſtructive of Religion*, notionally and *doctrinally, and yet hold the contrary Truth* practically. And this he freely alloweth to be the Caſe here. Now his own Opinion is, "That Grace, whether actively taken for "God's

" God's Act, or paſſively for the Effect of this " Act, doth not conſiſt merely in God's cau- " ſing or Man's receiving ſuch a Power, as " without which they that enjoy the Goſpel " cannot be inexcuſable in not obeying it, or " cannot ſin *culpably*; this being a Power that " is given univerſally to all that hear and en- " joy the Goſpel: But in God's giving and in " Man's receiving ſomething from God, which " may overcome the Averſation, that is in " Man to Good, and thence cauſe him to re- " fuſe the Evil and chuſe the Good, in Obe- " dience to the Goſpel; without which yet " Men would not be wholly excuſable from " ſuch Obedience." For he maintaineth that the Power, without which Men would be excuſable, being properly in God an Effect of *Juſtice*, is not to be accounted by us an Effect of *ſupernatural Grace*, yea not of Grace or Favour at all. Since it is no Kindneſs or Favour, but Juſtice, not to condemn a Man for not doing what he hath not the Power to do. And if God *require* Men, ſaith he, *it is neceſſary in* JUSTICE, *that he give them ſo much Ability to chuſe the Good and refuſe the Evil, as may make them inexcuſable in not doing it.* The Opinion now which he chargeth upon Dr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Bull*, as contrary both to the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *England*, is their holding that the Effect of Grace is, *the giving that internal Power or Ability, that Men could not be inexcuſable without, in not obeying*

beying the Goſpel: Or, *that God's working in us to will and to do, is but giving us Power to will and do.* And he ſaith that no Man can even *in the Words of the Common Prayer* ſeriouſly pray or praiſe God, for the Converſion and Sanctification of himſelf or others, adhering to ſuch an Opinion, by which the Grace of God is degraded, according to him, to *the very Power or Faculty of Free Will, in actu ſecundo.* This he believeth himſelf to have irrefragably ſhewn in his former Diſcourſe of *natural and moral Impotency*; and for its contradicting the declared Practice of our Church, he adviſeth any that ſhall but doubt thereof, to take the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, and therein read ſuch Prayers, and to ſee if they can think the meaning of ſuch Prayers to be, that God would give them and others that Power to obey without which he could not condemn them for not obeying, (as is apparent of that Power without which Men would be excuſable) and conſequently a Power which whether they pray or pray not for, God is by himſelf bound in Juſtice to give them.

p. 244.

This is indeed a moſt heavy Charge againſt Mr. *Bull*, if it could clearly be proved: But he deduceth it only *conſequentially* from his Diſcourſe; and it reflecteth not only upon him and Dr. *Hammond*, but upon as many as go the common Remonſtrant way, or that maintain the Univerſality of Grace. It is vain to proteſt never ſo much that the Holy Spirit giveth

giveth us the Power, which all the Good we do is imputable to; or to declare in this Caſe "That the Grace of God in lapſed Man is "the * *one ſole Principle of ſpiritual Life,* "*Converſion, Regeneration, Repentance, Faith,* "*and every other Evangelical Virtue*; and that "all that can be juſtly attributed to our Will "in any of theſe, is the obeying the Motions, "and making uſe of the Powers which are be-"ſtowed upon us by that ſupernatural Prin-"ciple". For if the obeying the *Motions,* and making uſe of the *Powers,* which God beſtoweth upon Men, may *juſtly be attributed to our Will,* and not to a ſpecial Operation beſides of the Spirit; God only giving us the Power, and wholly leaving it to us to make uſe of it, without doing any more by his Spirit to *cauſe* us to make uſe of it; Mr. *Truman* here argueth that all theſe high Words are but an empty Sound, and that it would be abſurd for any one hereupon to pray to God, that he would graciouſly cauſe him by his Spirit to improve his Talent, and make uſe of the Power committed to him, if God do no more than merely give the Talent or Power, which he doth unto all: And if this be the meaning, as he ſuppoſeth it to be of Mr. *Bull,* and all the Remonſtrant Divines, God's Grace and Kindneſs towards Men is not at all exalted by any ſuch Expreſſions; and a Man is no more

* *Dr.* Hammond's *Pacifick Diſcourſe.* Lond. 1660. p. 52. §. 75. &c. Bull Harm. Apoſt.

obliged

obliged to ſpecial Trankfulneſs and Gratitude for the Work of his Converſion, than if it were ſaid, God by his ſupernatural Grace made us *Men*, that is, endued us with *Underſtanding* and *Will*. And he ſaith it is all one, whether one call this Power the *remote* and fundamental, or the *proximate* Power of Free-will, while there is meant by it only that Power without which they that enjoy the Privileges of the Goſpel have no Sin. For if this be the import of all theſe great Words concerning Grace, and ſupernatural Grace, given to all that enjoy the Goſpel of Chriſt, that it giveth them only this *proximate* Power, by which the Will being emancipated is at liberty to obey the Goſpel, God going no farther by his Spirit with any in order to their Converſion; and that this Power, call it what you will, doeth *all* in Converſion, and in cauſing the difference; and that therefore *all* the good is done by ſupernatural Grace only, and *nothing* is properly imputable to Man in the whole Work of his Converſion: The learned *Rectifier* contendeth, that all this is really nothing; that it manifeſtly tendeth to confound *ſupernatural Grace* and *common Providence* together: And to argue thus is no leſs illogical, than to ſay, *Man doth all in improving the Goſpel to his own Converſion: Therefore God doth all.* To conclude, he highly commendeth that ſober Sentiment of the Great Biſhop *Sanderſon*, who confeſſing his own diſability to reconcile the

conſiſtency

conſiſtency of Grace and Free-will in Converſion, and being ſenſible that they muſt both be maintained, tells us, "* He ever held and ſtill "doth hold it the more pious and ſafe way "to place the Grace of God in the Throne, "where we think it ſhould ſtand, and ſo to "leave the Will of Man to ſhift for the main-"tenance of its own Freedom, as well as it "can; than to eſtabliſh the Power and Liber-"ty of Free-will at its heighth, and then to "be at a loſs how to maintain the Power and "Efficacy of God's Grace.

Beſides theſe there are ſome few other Objections which he made againſt Mr. *Bull's* Book, as particularly, that though he gave indeed the true ſenſe of many Verſes in the iv^th^ Chap. to the *Romans*, yet he feigneth the Apoſtle to bring them in too deſultorily; that he is miſtaken in ſtating the Caſe of *Abraham* from St. *Paul*, making that to be *before*, which was really *after* the divine Calling, and his believing; that upon his Principles Men might after their Converſion live perfectly, and do as much as they are required to do by the Word of God; and that his Inference from the defended and received Opinions amongſt the *Jews*, about the nature of Obedience to their Law, is not well ſupported. And whereas Mr. *Bull* hath ſpent a whole Chapter in citing out of ſome Authors certain Sayings of

Some other Objections raiſed againſt Mr. Bull.

* *See Dr.* Hammond's *Letter to Dr.* Sanderſon, *concerning God's Grace*, &c. §. 90, 91.

the

the *Jews*, in defence of the Power of Free-will, without the aſſiſting Grace of the Spirit, he will have it that many of them may be capable of no ill Conſtruction: and that they poſſibly mean no more than that Men have the natural Power of Free-will, without which they cannot be Men, from God's common Providence; and not that the Will is not in a moral Senſe inſuperably wicked without Grace.

Some of Mr. Truman's Conceſſions.

As to what Mr. *Bull* had written concerning the Ritual and *Ceremonial Law*, and the Works thereof, as Circumciſion, Sacrifices, and the like; or concerning the *Jewiſh Interpretations* of the whole Body of the Moſaick Law; containing under it the Moral Law; or concerning humane inventions and additions to it, and the ſeveral erroneous Opinions of many of the learned *Jews* in reſpect to it; or concerning the moſt pernicious Solifidianiſm of the Gnoſtick Hereticks; or, laſtly, concerning the ſeveral contrary Errors and Miſtakes of ſome Chriſtian Sects, which are with great Judgment conſidered by him in his *Epilogue*; Mr. *Truman*, with all his Metaphyſical Subtilty, could find nothing herein to condemn: Yea, he expreſly commendeth him for having ſhewn out of the *Jewiſh* Writers, that it was a vulgar Errour among them, to imagine that they perfectly fulfilled God's Law, and did all that was required by it, though they did but ſome few Externals only; as thinking that thoſe Commandments which require the obedience of

of the Heart or internal Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, were only matter of *Counſel* and not ſtrictly of Precept; and inſtead of bringing up their Lives to the Law, maintaining ſuch Opinions as brought the Law down to their Lives.

Upon the whole, he thinketh it improbable that every Chapter of both Diſſertations of Mr. *Bull*, ſhould be reviſed and approved by ſo able a Divine as Dr. *Nicholſon*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*: and ſuſpecteth, that he had great Temptations to pretend his Approbation of the whole and every part of it, to gain repute to his Opinion, *by the great Name of ſo Reverend a Prelate and ſo Learned a Writer*. And concluding, that he had ſaid enough to ſhew the Danger and Inconſiſtency of ſome prevailing Opinions concerning the nature of Grace and the Moſaick Diſpenſation; he inſinuateth nevertheleſs, that he might probably write more hereupon, if urged to it; and did accordingly begin ſoon after a Treatiſe upon the *Covenant of Grace*, which he lived not to finiſh: for ſaith he, *My great Averſation to ſuch Principles* (common to Dr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Bull*) *will much incline me upon an eaſy Call to oppoſe the prevalency of them; till I ſhall ſee ſome fitter Man of* our own Church and Language where they prevail (*as I doubt not but that there are many, whoſe Abilities and Circumſtances make them far more fit,*) *willing to undertake it, and ſave the Labour of my weak Endeavours*. From which it appeareth, that Mr. *Truman* was very

The reſult of the whole matter.

p. 264.

far from the Sentiments of the riged Diſſenters; and that he did not totally leave our Church upon the *Act of Uniformity*; but did conſider himſelf ſtill as a Church of *England* Man, ſome leſſer matters only excepted.

XXXV. Mr. *Bull*, not long after, wrote an Anſwer in Engliſh to Mr. *Truman*, which yet was never publiſhed, wherein we are told his Hypotheſis was fully examined, and all his Objections replied to; not without the conſentient Teſtimony of all the Catholick Doctors of the Church, both before and after the riſe of *Pelagius*, and of the Ancient *Jewiſh* Rabbins. For out of a fear that Offence might be given to the Common People, by handling certain abſtruſe and profound Queſtions, to the treating yet of which he was neceſſiated by the exceeding great Subtilties of this Writer; he was willing that what he had thus written ſhould not come abroad, but only be communicated to a few Friends, whoſe Teſtimony he appealed to herein. In this Anſwer to Mr. *Truman* he ſet himſelf to overturn his Fundamental Diſtinction of *Natural* and *Moral Impotence*, and to ſhew the many abſurd Conſequences flowing from ſuch a Poſition, and how that at the bottom, it was neither more nor leſs than downright *Pelagianiſm*. In it he endeavoured to prove, that the *Law of Nature*, as

Mr. Bull *anſwereth him in Engliſh.*

[a] *Appendix ad Exa. Cen. Animad.* 17. §. 6.

con-

conſidered in it ſelf, or the *Moral Law* preſcribeth not a moſt perfect and abſolute Righteouſneſs, but is contented with that which is much inferiour to that which is required by the Goſpel: And moreover, that Eternal Life was not due at all to the Obſervation of that Law. Alſo he maintaineth, that Man, even in the ſtate of Innocence, had not a *Natural Power* or Ability of obtaining by the perfect Obedience of the Law an Heavenly Immortality: And that beſides the Perfection and Integrity of Nature wherein he was made, he was likewiſe endowed with the Divine Spirit, as with a Principle of the *Divine Nature*; by which his natural Faculties, otherwiſe inſufficient, were improved and exalted to the attainment of the *Superiour Paradiſe*, whereof the *Inferiour* was a Type. This he ſaith is abundantly made out in his Engliſh Papers againſt Mr. *Truman*, though not in a Style ſo very fit for vulgar Readers: And having repreſented the Strangeneſs and Inconſiſtency of his Hypotheſis, which he ſaith was borrowed from *Amyraldus*, he ſheweth how from one Abſurdity a multitude of other Abſurdities cannot but flow; how upon his Principles it is poſſible for every Man, if he hath but his Natural Faculties found, perfectly to fulfil the Law of God, when ſufficiently made known to him, without the Aſſiſtance of any inward Grace; how it is naturally poſſible, but at the ſame time morally impoſſible: How God may

lawfully require of fallen Man moſt perfect Obedience, without either giving him, or being ready to give him any Grace, by which that Obedience may be wrought; how the Law of Nature, to thoſe that ſhall keep it, can give Life everlaſting; how the Evangelical Law doth not convey together with it Grace and Power, to perform the Obedience which it requireth; and that this Grace is only given according to the good Pleaſure of God, to ſome few thereunto ordained; but that all the reſt are juſtly damned, becauſe they might have lived well if they *would*, but that they had not Power to *will* it. This by thoſe hints which he himſelf hath given of it, ſeemeth to have been the Subſtance of what was written by him in Engliſh on occaſion of Mr. *Truman*'s two mentioned Books, his *Diſcourſe of Natural and Moral Impotency*, and his *Endeavours to rectifie ſome prevailing Opinions*.

But not contented with that, answers him alſo in Latin.

But Mr. *Bull* being engaged, as he thought, to vindicate himſelf againſt Mr. *Charles Gataker*'s Animadverſions upon his *Harmony*, thought it alſo convenient to anſwer Mr. *Truman* in Latin; as to the principal Objections made againſt him, Dr. *Hammond*, and Biſhop *Taylor*, thereby to render his Reply more full and compleat. And this he hath done, both in his Appendix to the Examination of the xvii^th^ Animadverſion, and in his Anſwers to the xix^th^, xxi^th^, and xxii^d^ Animadverſions of *Gataker*, relating to the two-fold Defect of the

the Moſaick Diſpenſation. Where he learnedly and ſtrenuouſly defendeth what he had advanced in his former Book, concerning the Grounds of the Impoſſibility of Juſtification by the Law, for which he is ſo ſeverely handled by *Gataker*, *Truman*, and others; and laboureth to prove that the Opinion of his Adverſaries therein is ſtrictly and properly *Pelagian*; and that his only is the true Catholick Doctrine, ſupported by the Authority of St. *Auguſtin* and other Orthodox Fathers.

The Subſtance of his Anſwer.

He is very large in diſcuſſing the Queſtion, whether there was any Law or Covenant, diſtinct from the Goſpel, requiring perfect Righteouſneſs of fallen Man, with the Promiſe of Eternal Life if he did perform it, and under the Penalty of Eternal Damnation if he did not. And having explained the State of the Queſtion, he proceedeth and defendeth the true Catholick Opinion thereupon in the following Theſes. 1. The Covenant of Life made with *Adam* in his State of Innocence, was by his Trangreſſion of the ſame, made void not only for himſelf, but for his Poſterity alſo; ſo as now all the Children of *Adam*, as ſuch, are the *Children of Death*, that is, are excluded wholly from all Promiſe of Immortal Life, and are ſubjected to the neceſſity of *Death*, without any hopes of a Reſurrection. 2. All thoſe of the Poſterity of fallen *Adam*, who are altogether deſtitute of Divine Revelation, and to whom the New Covenant of Life hath not

yet been manifeſt, are under the Obligation of no Law but that of Nature. 3. The Law of Nature, (which is the dictate of Reaſon) ſo far as it is conſidered in fallen Man, as deſtitute of the Spirit, and of Divine Revelation, doth not preſcribe the moſt perfect and abſolute Virtue, nor is an Immortal and Heavenly Life due to the Obſervation of this Law. 4. God never entered into any Covenant of Eternal Life with the Poſterity of fallen *Adam*, but what was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in our Saviour Chriſt; and muſt conſequently have been the very *Goſpel* it ſelf, according to that of the Apoſtle, *The Gift of God is Eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* 5. The *Goſpel*, or *the Law of Chriſt*, though it preſcribe a Religion that is moſt excellent and perfect, eſpecially as it is moſt fully revealed in the Books of the New Teſtament, doth not command any thing to Man in his fallen State, but that which is poſſible to be fulfilled by the *Grace* which it promiſeth. 6. Though according to the Goſpel, or Law of Chriſt, all thoſe degrees of Righteouſneſs, which are poſſible for us by the Grace of the ſame Goſpel to be performed, are binding to us; yet they are not all binding *ſtrictly* and *preciſely* under the Penalty of *Everlaſting Damnation*. For as much as the *Evangelical Law* doth not for every Default whatſoever, yea, though by Grace it could have been avoided, denounce againſt Man, Excluſion from the Kingdom of Heaven,

ven, and much leſs doth it threaten Hell Torments for this; but only for ſuch Sins as are repugnant to the very End of the Law, the Love of God above all things, and do more immediately reſiſt the Divine Loving-kindneſs. 7. The extraordinary Indulgence of the Goſpel, doth herein eminently ſhine forth, that it promiſeth Forgiveneſs of all, even of the moſt grievous Sins, committed either before or after the Grace of it ſhall be received, upon condition of *Repentance*: But then this Repentance, ſo far as it relateth to the more grievous Sins, which are called *deadly*, muſt be moſt exact and perfectly practical. Theſe are the ſeven Pillars upon which his whole Superſtructure, concerning the Difference of the Firſt and Second Covenant, and his Compariſon of the Law and the Goſpel doth ſubſiſt. And he concludeth againſt Mr. *Truman*, that if the Covenant of Life made with *Adam* was annulled by his Sin, both for himſelf and his Poſterity; if the Poſterity of *Adam*, to whom the New Covenant of Life hath not been revealed, are only bound to the Obſervance of the Moral and Natural Law, which cannot of it ſelf give Eternal Life; and if there be no other New Covenant of Life entered into by God with fallen Mankind, then certainly there is no Covenant or Law, prior to the Goſpel, and diſtinguiſhed from it, which doth require of lapſed Man, the moſt abſolute Obedience, and moſt perfect Virtue, with regard to Eternal

Rewards and Puniſhments in another Life. Alſo againſt him he diſputeth both from the Scriptures and Fathers, that the Goſpel is a *Miniſtration of Spirit*, ſo that the Spirit of Chriſt muſt be individually conjoined with his Law, that commanding nothing which his Grace is not ſufficient to perform. And he diſputeth againſt him, that it was not only the common Opinion of all the Catholick Doctors who lived before *Pelagius*, that a Man might by the Grace of Chriſt fulfil all his Commandments: but that it was the very Sentiment alſo of the greateſt Enemies of the Pelagian Hereſy, and moſt eminent Writers againſt it, as particularly of St. *Auguſtin*, and St. *Hierom*, with our venerable *Bede*.

XXXVI. *An Hypotheſis of Mr. Truman's examined.*

The Hypotheſis of Mr. *Truman*, as eſtabliſhed in both his Diſcourſes, being this; "That the Reaſonings of St. *Paul* againſt Juſtification by the Moſaical Law, ſuppoſes "that Law to require an impoſſible Condition "of Juſtification, or ſuch an abſolute Righteouſneſs as no Man through his *Moral Impotence* can ever diſcharge. Our Author endeavoureth to demonſtrate, that the Reaſoning of that Apoſtle in his Epiſtles, both to the *Romans* and the *Galatians*, go upon quite another Foundation; and that they ſuppoſe that in the Moſaical Law, as underſtood *according to the Letter*, there was no true Juſtification at all, or Remiſſion of Sins reaching beyond this Life,

Life, ever ſet forth. And truly if this be not demonſtrated by thoſe many Arguments and Teſtimonies which he hath brought; it muſt at leaſt be confeſſed, that ſo much is here ſaid againſt the contrary Opinion, as to render it very highly improbable. And as for his Objection of the *Spirituality of the Law*, about which he hath ſaid indeed ſo many fine things, Mr. *Bull* here diſtinguiſheth, and ſaith it was generally the Opinion of the Ancients, that the Word *Law* is taken in Scripture in ſeveral Senſes; that in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles it is taken, either according to the *Letter*, or elſe according to the *Spirit*: and that this laſt is no other than the very Goſpel it ſelf, as being hid under ancient Figures, and covered over with the Veil of Ceremonies, firſt explained by *Moſes* himſelf, as well as the time could then bear, next by the ſucceeding Prophets more clearly manifeſted, and laſt of all, by Chriſt and his Apoſtles moſt fully revealed as the Sun at Noon-day: That thoſe Encomiums which are attributed to the Law, of being *Spiritual*, *Holy*, &c, are properly applicable to it, as taken according to the *Spirit*, or for the Goſpel it ſelf: That whenſoever St. *Paul* detracteth from the Law, or denieth Juſtification to be by the Works of it, he then always underſtandeth it as taken according to the *Letter*. And, laſtly, That the Apoſtle doth very fitly take the Law either in *one* Senſe or in the *other*, either *Spiritually* or *Carnally*, according to the differing Sentiments

of

of thoſe to whom he wrote his Epiſtles. And
p. 132, &c. whereas Mr. *Truman* had objected againſt Mr. *Bull*, that his degrading the Laws of Mount *Sinai* ſo low as he had done, was in effect a Reflection upon God himſelf, the Author of it; and that he had miſinterpreted St. *Paul*, by making him ſay, That the Law did not promiſe ſuch things, as that a Man had need of *Faith*, which is the Evidence of things not ſeen, to believe them; but promiſed only things of *Senſe* not of *Faith*: And alſo by ſuppoſing the Apoſtle's meaning, *Gal.* iii. *ver.* 21. to be, that the Fault was in the Law, not in the Men; becauſe if the Law promiſed it, Men would have attained Life by that Law: and ſo making an Excuſe thereby for the Carnal and Servile Genius of the generality of the *Jews*, as ſuited to their Law; if the Law of Mount *Sinai* was indeed ſuch a Diſpenſation of Servitude, and fit to beget in Men a mean and ſervile Diſpoſition of Mind: Mr. *Bull* anſwereth, that it would be very unjuſt to charge God herewith, ſeeing that by his wiſe and gracious Providence, ſufficient care was taken that the *Jews* might not ſtick in the Letter of the *Mount Sinai Law*, but might look beyond it. For he ſheweth how God provided the Tradition of Life to come, derived down from the Patriarchs, either immediately from himſelf or otherwiſe, might flouriſh under the Law, and be both expounded and confirmed by the Sermons of the Prophets,

whom

whom he raiſed up in their ſeveral Ages for Inſtruction and Conduct to his People. He ſaith, the Patriarchal Condition is clear, both by the Prophecy and Example of *Enoch*; and that the Subſiſtence of the Soul, after the Death of the Body, was hence believed by the moſt ancient *Jews* who lived after the delivery of the Law by *Moſes*. And this he eſpecially gathereth and confirmeth, from the Hiſtory of King *Saul* conſulting the Pythoneſs of *Endor*, and ſeeking of her, that he might have ſome Diſcourſe with *Samuel* that was then dead; which he would never certainly have done, had he not believed the Soul of the deceaſed Prophet to ſurvive. He argueth alſo to the ſame Effect from the Original of *Necromancy*, the moſt ancient of all Divinations, founded upon this ſeparate Subſiſtence of the Soul; from the *Goſpel of* Moſes, or his Sermon in the Plains of *Moab*, wherein he calleth the *Iſraelites* off from the outward Ceremonies of the Law which he had taught them, to inward Godlineſs; and from the Circumciſion of the Fleſh to the Circumciſion of the Heart: and expreſly admoniſheth them, that the whole buſineſs of their Salvation did turn upon this one Precept of loving God with all their Heart: And from the *Prophetical Teſtimony*, more eſpecially inſtancing in ſuch Paſſages of * *Samuel* and *David*, of *Iſaiah*. *Jeremiah*, of

* 1 Sam. xv. *ver.* 22. Pſal. l. *ver.* 1, *to* 17. & li. *ver.* 16, 17. Iſai. i. *ver.* 10, *to* 21. Jerem. vii. *ver.* 21, 22, 23. Hoſ. vi. *ver.* 6. Mic. vi. *ver.* 6, 7, 8.

Hoſeah

Hoſeah and *Micah* as are herein moſt clear and expreſs. Whence he concludeth, that the *Jews*, who in St. *Paul*'s time ſtuck to the bare Letter of the *Mount Sinai Law*; whether they were Phariſees, who acknowledged indeed a Myſtery in the Letter of the *Promiſe*, but could not ſee beyond the Letter of the Precept; or whether they were Sadducees, who underſtood both the Promiſes and Precepts of the Moſaical Law, according to the Letter only; to be without excuſe. So that after all, the difference betwixt Mr. *Truman* and Mr. *Bull*, will be found very inconſiderable.

The Character of the Rectifyer.

This Mr. *Truman* was indeed a Perſon of a deep and ſearching Genius, but perhaps too Metaphyſical: Candid in fully repreſenting the Argument of his Adverſary without diſguiſe, and commending whatever he thought worthy of Commendation; but ſevere alſo in his Animadverſions, where he believed he wanted not ſufficient Grounds for ſo doing: Generous very often, in his manner of treating thoſe he diſſented from; but ſometimes yet unreaſonably ſuſpicious and ſcrupulous: Cool and moderate in the Management of his Cauſe, with very little appearance of Paſſion and Prejudice; but vigorous yet and zealous, for the *rectifying* of ſome certain Opinions, which he took to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, for which he ſtill continued to profeſs an Eſteem. This made him reſpected by ſeveral eminent Divines of

our Church; and even by such also of them, who did not agree with him in his darling Notions. His Knowledge was not confined to his own Profession, for he had a good share of Skill, not only in the *Statute* and *Common Law*, but also in the *Civil*: He was a good Critick in the Learned Tongues, particularly in the Greek, where by the great Strength of his Memory his Head would supply the Place of a *Lexicon*; and though he was ejected for Nonconformity, yet during his Recess from his publick Station, he commonly attended the Worship of God in publick.

XXXVII. *Bishop Nicholson, Mr. Bull's Patron, dies, his Character.*

While Mr. *Bull* was busied in this Controversy, with Mr. *Gataker* and Mr. *Truman*, and was designing to have a fair Copy transcribed, he lost his very good Friend and Patron the Bishop, who had hitherto directed and assisted him. For the good Prelate having at Heart the Good of the Church and the Honour of his Clergy, and being a great Encourager of Learning and Learned Men, within his Sphere and District at least, had a great Satisfaction in Mr. *Bull*, and failed not upon all proper occasions to express his Esteem for him: And on the other side, Mr. *Bull* took no small pleasure, as in seeing himself so favoured and honoured by his Diocesan, so also in making all suitable Returns of Duty and Gratitude on his part. He was always a singular admirer of that Condescension and Familiarity, of that truly paternal Care which

which he found in this good Biſhop, who by his Learned Writings, had defended and maintained the Church of *England* againſt her Adverſaries, when ſhe was under a Cloud; and after that ſhe had rid out the Storm, did not omit to do all that became an excellent Prelate, for ſupporting the Catholick Faith and Diſcipline profeſſed in her Communion, both by himſelf and by others. He died at *Gloceſter*, having ſat in that Chair above Eleven Years, in the 82ᵈ of his Age, upon the 5ᵗʰ of *February*, 167½. with the Reputation of a truly Primitive Biſhop. His Works ſhew him to have been a Perſon of great Learning, Piety, and Prudence, particularly his *Apology for the Diſcipline of the ancient Church*, printed the Year before the Reſtauration; and his *Expoſition of the Apoſtle's Creed*, the Year ſucceeding it; with his *Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm*, that hath had many Editions. And as he was not only for his Knowledge of the Fathers and Schoolmen conſulted by Mr. *Bull*, but alſo for the great ſhare of Critical Learning whereof he was Maſter: ſo his ſingular Affability, Modeſty and Candour, made his Loſs in an eſpecial manner to be regretted by him.

Biſhop Nicholſon's *Epitaph, writ by Mr.* Bull.

A worthy Gentleman, *Owen Brigſtock*, Eſq; of *Carmarthenſhire*, Grandſon to Biſhop *Nicholſon*'s Lady, out of reſpect to his Lordſhip's Memory, did, at his own Charge, erect a very handſom Monument, in a Chapel of the Cathedral Church of *Gloceſter*, in order to per-

perpetuate it. The care of the Inſcription was left to Mr. *Bull*, whereby he had an Opportunity to draw his Patron's Character in ſhort; and becauſe it is at the ſame time, a Proof how capable Mr. *Bull* was even of ſuch a Performance, the Reader I believe will not think it improper to be recorded in his Life, and is as followeth;

Æternitati S.
In ſpe Beatæ Reſurrectionis,
Hîc Reverendas Exuvias depoſuit
Theologus Inſignis,
Epiſcopus verè primitivus
Gulielmus Nicholſon.
In Agro Suffolciano natus
Apud Magdalenenſes Educatus,
Ob Fidem Regi & Eccleſiæ Afflictæ præſtitam,
Ad ſedem Gloceſtrenſem meritò promotus.
Anno MDCLX.

In concionibus frequens,
In ſcriptis Nervoſus.
Legenda ſcribens, & faciens ſcribenda.
Gravitas Epiſcopalis in fronte Emicuit,
Pauperibus quotidianâ charitate Beneficus,
Comitate erga Clerum & Literatos Admirandus.
Gloriæ ac dierum Satur,
In palatio ſuo ut vixit piè deceſſit
Febru. 5° Anno Ætatis LXXXII.
Dom. MDCLXXI.

Elizabetha conjux præivit, in hoc Sacello
Sepulta Ap. XX. An. Dom. MDCLXIII.
Owenus Brigſtock de Lechdenny
In comitatu Caermarthen Armiger,
Prædictæ Elizabethæ Nepos
Hoc Grati Animi Monumentum
(Executore recuſante)
Propriis ſumptibus erexit, An. MDCLXXIX.

How a ſtop was put to Mr. Bull's *deſigns, of vindicating ſome Catholick Doctrines.*

Upon the death of this excellent Biſhop, we are told by Mr. *Bull* himſelf, that he laid perfectly aſide the Papers which he had drawn up in defence of his *Harmonia*, againſt the Strictures of the younger *Gataker*, with a deſign they ſhould have been communicated to his Lordſhip, had he lived longer, and ſo have been ſubmitted wholly to his Cenſure and Diſpoſal. But as the Biſhop did not much inſiſt to have Mr. *Bull*'s Anſwer, when he had conſidered Mr. *Gataker*'s Animadverſions, and found ſo little Matter in them deſerving one: And as Mr. *Bull*, when he had finiſhed his Anſwer, which was in a few Months after he had received it, began to grow more cool and indifferent, the Zeal of his Spirits being now a little evaporated; and did not care, as he confeſſed, to take the Pains of Reviewing and Tranſcribing it for the Biſhop's Peruſal and Examination: The ſaid Anſwer was dropped for the preſent, and the Biſhop dying in the mean time, was hereupon condemned to lie buried

buried in his Study, among his neglected Papers, having no farther thoughts of letting them ſee the Light, ſince he was now dead whom he entirely depended upon for his Fatherly Direction in this Matter; and by whoſe Advice and Aſſiſtance his former Book had been publiſhed to the World, which gave occaſion for this. Whereof there is this Account, that preſently upon his receiving his own Book from the Biſhop's Hand, with thoſe Animadverſions interſperſed, he ſet himſelf with all his might, to expoſe the Weakneſs of them, and more fully vindicate the Catholick Truths, which he had before ſo publickly maintained in his firſt Book, againſt all that is commonly brought for the ſupport of modern Notions contrary to them. * And he acquainteth us, that his Papers againſt Mr. *Gataker*, were written only at his leiſure Hours, in the midſt of much other Buſineſs continually interrupting him: and with ſo much haſte, that they were not to be read by any body beſides himſelf, and hardly by himſelf neither, except with the help of his Memory. The reaſon for his ſo haſtily ſetting about this Reply, was, beſides that moſt terrible Complaint preſented againſt him, by his moſt paſſionate and unfair Cenſurer, who was in hopes of getting his Book condemned, and the Author ſilenced, and thought, no doubt, he ſhould hereby do God

* Pref. *Ad Exam. Cenſura.*

good Service; a Diſſatisfaction in ſome, that were otherwiſe hearty Well-wiſhers both to the Church and him, who were yet of the Opinion, that he had written ſomewhat too freely in ſome parts of his *Harmony*. And though theſe Animadverſions were not indeed printed, yet having been addreſſed in a ſolemn manner to the Governours of the Church, and ſtrenuouſly alſo inſiſted upon in Letters to ſeveral of them, as a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Church; and great Means being alſo uſed to hinder his Preferment by ſome very Eminent Men; he thought his Silence might be interpreted by ſome as a tacite Acknowledgment of his Guilt, and that even his Delay might be miſconſtrued alſo, and give an Advantage to his Adverſary. Upon this, he concluded not to wait for a ſet Anſwer to his Book, as ſome would have had him, but immediately fell upon his *Animadverter*, and meeting by the way with an *Endeavour* of a more moderate Adverſary, could not altogether paſs him by. But the Biſhop's Death intervening, as was ſaid, put a ſtop to what he had deſigned, ſo that he had no farther thoughts about it, 'till the Matter was revived afreſh by a Book of the Learned Dr. *Tully*, levelled directly at him, of which there will be occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter.

About

About the ſame time Dr. *Barlow*, then *Margaret* Profeſſor at *Oxford*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in ſome of his Lectures before that Learned Body, is ſaid to have treated Mr. *Bull* very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious Names; an account of which was ſent him by his learned and pious Friend, Mr. *Thomas*, at that time Chaplain of *Chriſt* Church, and reſident in that Univerſity, who was then preſent, and took Notes of all that related to his Friend in thoſe Lectures. This Treatment brought Mr. *Bull* to *Oxford*, who with Mr. *Thomas*, waited upon the Profeſſor, told him with what Inhumanity he had been treated by him, and offered to clear himſelf from thoſe Imputations by a publick Diſputation, but this would not be accepted of. Mr. *Bull* and his Friend thought this very hard; ſeeing that to have Lectures read againſt him in the Univerſity by ſo great a Man, as if he were not only to be held for an *Heretick* by the Church, but even for an *Hereſiarch* too; and not to have liberty after all granted him to purge himſelf from ſuch a publick Charge of Hereſy, in the ordinary way of Diſputation, and before the ſame Auditory to whom he, for the ſake of his Book, had been thus repreſented in ſuch groſs Colours; they could not believe ſuch a Proceeding, was by any means Equal or Juſtifiable in the Profeſſor. A Diſputation was all that Mr. *Bull* deſired for himſelf; but was prudently enough declined by this Doctor of

How publick Lectures were read againſt him at Oxford.

the Chair, not knowing what might have been the Conſequences thereof. He excuſed himſelf therefore to Mr. *Bull* as well as he could, and endeavoured to avoid owning the Fact, till Mr. *Thomas* poſitively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the Notes which he had taken, to which the Profeſſor had no more to ſay: And they parted with no other ſatisfaction to Mr. *Bull*, than that the Perſon who had been ſo forward to defame him in his abſence, durſt not make good the Charge to his face.

XXXVIII. *How Dr.* Tully *became Dr.* Barlow's *Second againſt Mr.* Bull.

Thus Mr. *Bull* having got the better of the Profeſſor, and hearing no more after this from the Divinity-Chair, had ſome reſt for a time, and an Opportunity therewith, of examining ſome other Controverſies of another Nature. But though Dr. *Barlow* was ſilent after this Viſit made him, and cared not to meddle more with Mr. *Bull*; yet a Friend and Collegue of his was found willing to undertake the Cauſe, and carry on the Charge of Heterodoxy and Innovation againſt Mr. *Bull*, which in his Lectures he had begun, but wanted Courage to maintain. This was Dr. *Tully*, formerly Fellow of *Queens-College*, and then Principal of St. *Edmund*'s-*Hall*, adjoining: who was indeed an Eloquent and Learned Writer: Nor muſt it be denied, that he was a very valuable Perſon, for other Reaſons, and that he did much good in the Univerſity. He had ſome time before

fore printed a ſort of * Syſtem in Divinity, — for the uſe of young Students, which had been well received, it having had ſeveral Editions. But his Notions being partly different from thoſe of Mr. *Bull* in his *Harmonia*, the Doctor was prevailed on to appear againſt him and his Book in *Latin*; and thereby to vindicate both himſelf and his Friend, who had been in ſuch a manner challenged as hath been related. And whereas no Anſwer had yet appeared to Mr. *Bull*'s Book, but one in *Engliſh*, and that written too by one that was thrown out by Act of Parliament from the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry; And as this might be matter of Applauſe to Mr. *Bull* and his Friends, that no one yet of the Church of *England* had undertook to anſwer him from the Preſs; and that a famous Profeſſor, and he reputed no ſmall Maſter in the *polemical part* of his Profeſſion more eſpecially, thought not fit to venture, when nearly attacked, to maintain the Cauſe againſt him, but ſeemed rather to retract the Charge of Hereſy, which had been by him ſo liberally beſtowed; it was therefore concluded, that this Charge could not, with any modeſty, be kept up longer againſt the *Harmonia* and its Author, without there was a thorough Anſwer to it, written by ſome learned Divine of the Church of *England*; and one againſt whom

* *Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum. Lond.* 1665, 1668, &c.

there could lie no Exception; who ſhould therein endeavour to make out, that Mr. *Bull*'s Explication of the Doctrine of Juſtification was properly *Heretical*, as being contrary in a Fundamental Point to the Teſtimony of Scripture, and againſt the Opinion of the Catholick Fathers, the Judgment of the Church of *England*, and the Determinations of all the Foreign Reformed Churches.

The fitneſs of Dr. Tully *for ſuch an Undertaking, and the high Expectations from him.*

Now there could not be any one fitter for this than the learned Perſon already mentioned, being of a Life and Character unexceptionable; but who had early imbibed other Sentiments than thoſe which Mr. *Bull* had publiſhed, and thence had read both the Scriptures, and the ancient Church Writers, with quite another view: And, beſides, he being beneficed *in the Church*, for the Doctrines of which, againſt all Innovations and Innovators, he expreſſed an extraordinary Zeal; and Governour at the ſame time of an Houſe *in the Univerſity*, which was by his Diligence and exact Diſcipline made to flouriſh; and *Chaplain* alſo in Ordinary to the King: All this could not but make it to look ſomewhat more like a Battery from the ſide of the Church of *England*, as it was intended, than any that had yet been; and there would thus want one Objection at leaſt againſt him in Mr. *Bull*'s favour, which was too obvious not to have been taken notice of, in the caſe of one, if not both of Mr. *Bull*'s former Adverſaries. An Anſwer there-

fore

fore was accordingly undertaken by this learned Doctor, with no ſmall confidence of Succeſs.

Some nevertheleſs of his Friends would feign have diſſwaded him from engaging in this matter, being of opinion, that he would but hereby create himſelf an unneceſſary Labour, without ſerving the Church, according as he purpoſed: and they plainly told him, that the Point diſputed was not of all that Conſequence which he took it to be; and that thence it would be more adviſeable, to drop the Controverſy for the ſake of the Church's Peace, than by this means to revive and keep it up; eſpecially conſidering, that probably in the end, this would turn to a mere ſtrife about Terms. They who gave him this Advice, whoſoever they were, had not hitherto declared themſelves on either ſide, as it appears, but expreſſed themſelves with much Candour and Moderation towards both: and would gladly have allayed the Heats of one againſt the other, and amicably have compoſed their Differences. But Dr. *Tully* was not able to bear this their *Lukewarmneſs* and *Indifferency*, as it appeared to him to be: and ſo far was their ſober Admonition from working upon him, that this did but the more raiſe his Zeal, and quicken him to perſiſt the more ſtedfaſtly in his *Reſolution, of defending what he

Some Endeavours of modeſt Men in the Church, to put a ſtop to theſe Contentions.

* *Epiſt. Dedica. & Pref.* N. 3, 4. *Juſtif. Paulina.*

looked on, as the very *Palladium* of the Reformation. And ſo deep was this Notion imprinted on his Mind, that he was amazed any one ſhould think otherwiſe: nor could he tell how to pardon them, who charitably adviſed him not to intermeddle in this Cauſe, which Biſhop *Sanderſon* declined, becauſe he was not for entring into a Controverſy, whereof he could never expect to ſee an End. Yea, the more he was convinced, that theſe were *wiſe* and learned Men, and lovers of the Truth, his Admiration grew the greater; and he could not forbear breaking out into the higheſt Aſtoniſhment, that ſuch as theſe ſhould be ſo far carried away with the Gallioniſm of the Age, as to conſider the *moſt noble* and *momentous* of all Controverſies (in his Opinion) as little better than a ſquabble about Words. Thus there were ſeveral Endeavours uſed to quaſh that inteſtine Strife in the Church. But nothing it ſeems was able to divert the Doctor's purpoſe of engaging Mr. *Bull*, when he was once reſolved of the matter, and ſo he purſued on his Deſign, being born up with an immoderate aſſurance of the goodneſs of his Cauſe, even ſo far as to fancy the Light or Evidence thereof to be clearer than the Sun himſelf.

XXXIX. *What Mr. Bull did when he heard Dr. Tully was writing againſt him.*

A great while before it went to the Preſs, the Book, which Dr. *Tully* had been ſet to

write, for the Reaſons already ſuggeſted, was diſcourſed of at *Oxford*: and thus coming to the knowledge of the worthy Perſon, againſt whom it was principally directed, he thought it his Duty to conſult, as much as in him lay, the Peace of the Church; that ſo the Adverſaries thereof might have no occaſion to triumph. And therefore he reſolved to offer the Doctor all reaſonable Satisfaction in the firſt place, entreating him, for that end, the favour of a friendly Conference betwixt them: that ſo, before he ſhould publiſh what he was preparing againſt him for the Preſs, they might come rightly to underſtand each other; and not loſe in the Combat what they were both equally contending for. Whence he preſſed him much, that the Truth might be ſo amicably and candidly examined by them, as became Chriſtians and Divines, that no cauſe of Scandal might remain; but that on the contrary, every Offence might be removed ſo far as was poſſible. And if any had been juſtly given, by his *Diſſertations* upon *Juſtification*, or by either of them, or any Errour or Miſtake by him therein committed, he ſaid, it ſhould freely be owned and confeſſed by him, ſo ſoon as ever it could be made to appear; this however was denied him, of which he afterwards complained; and it was thought he had reaſon ſo to do. For,

What paſſed at a Viſit of Mr. Bull *to Dr.* Tully.

While this Treatiſe of Dr. *Tully* was yet, according to his own Expreſſion, *ſticking in the*

the birth, there was brought about a Meeting of him and Mr. *Bull*, for this very End. At which, Mr. *Bull* telling him how he heard that he was writing againſt him, did very earneſtly beſeech him, "Above all things to conſider well the Peace of God's Church, and "to take diligent heed, leſt by publick Diſſention between two Divines of the ſame "Communion, the Enemies of our Church "might take occaſion of upbraiding and reproaching Her; or, beſides the Schiſmaticks, ſome even of Her own weak Members, "might happen to be offended hereby alſo. "And did therefore intreat him, that he "would, for preventing this Evil, be pleaſed, "as a Friend, but to communicate to him his "Papers; upon this Condition, that if by theſe "he could make it out, that he had written "any thing againſt ſound Doctrine, he would "not refuſe *publickly to retract* his Errour. This Propoſal appeared then ſo very reaſonable, that Dr. *Tully* ſeemed to agree to it: and anſwered, "That he might in a very little "while, ſend him perhaps a Copy of thoſe "his Papers. But after this, Mr. *Bull* never once heard from him; nor had any reaſon given him for the Alteration of his Mind.

Dr. Tully publiſhes his Anſwer to Mr. Bull.

At length, about the beginning of the Year 1674, there was publiſhed at *Oxford*, after much expectation, *Permiſſu Superiorum*, according as the Title Page expreſſeth it, a *Latin* Treatiſe, which was inſcribed, *Juſtificatio Pau-*

Paulina ſine operibus, ex mente Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, *omniumq; reliquarum quæ* Reformatæ *audiunt Aſſerta & illuſtrata contra nuperos* NOVATORES: *Authore* Tho. Tullio, *S. T. P.* &c. That is, Juſtification, as delivered by St. *Paul, without Works*, aſſerted and illuſtrated according to the Senſe of the *Church of England*, and of all the reſt of the *Reformed Churches*, againſt the late *Innovators*: by *Thomas Tully*, D.D. and Principal of *Edmond-Hall* in *Oxford*, &c. with the permiſſion of Superiors; in 4to. To this was alſo added, another ſhort Tract at the end, in anſwer more particularly to the *ninth* Chapter of Mr. *Bull*'s ſecond Diſſertation of his *Harmonia*, without ever mentioning his Name under the Title of *Diſſertatiuncula de* Sententia Paulina, *Rom. 7. a com.* 14; *in qua oſtenditur Paulum de ſe loqui* regenito, *non autem in perſona hominis nondum regeniti.* i.e. A ſhort Diſſertation, concerning the meaning of St. *Paul* in the vii^th^ to the *Romans*, from the 14th *ver.* wherein is ſhewn, that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in the Perſon of a Man Unregenerate, but of himſelf as *Regenerate*. Now notwithſtanding that the Author was encouraged to the Publication of this Book, by Biſhop *Morley*; *who read it over in Manuſcript, not without ſome ſhew of Approbation; the Appendix aforeſaid only excepted, which we are told, was reviſed and approved by another

* *Epiſt. Dedic.* p. 8.

learned

learned Prelate of our Church, whoſe Name is not indeed expreſſed; but whom I ſuppoſe to have been the then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, even his good Friend Dr. *Barlow*, lately advanced to that See; it is yet ſaid, he met with no ſmall Obſtructions in the bringing it forth, and was forced at laſt to make uſe of an Artifice, before he could obtain leave to have it printed: whence he calleth this his Book, * *Infælicis Horoſcopi fœtus*, as if it were born under an *unfortunate Planet*; and ſo heavily complaineth of the hardneſs of its Parent's Labour, as alſo of his being threatned with a ſmart Anſwer. Of the Occaſion and Motives for his engaging in this Controverſy, enough hath been ſaid already. Of the Contents and Method of his Book, ſo far at leaſt as Mr. *Bull* was therein concerned, it remains now to give ſome account; for the affording a Light to the Hiſtory of this Controverſy, and to ſome part of the Life of ſo eminent a Writer in our Church, as this that I am now employed in.

The manner of his ſtating the Queſtion, and eſtabliſhing his own Opinion.

He ſtateth then the Queſtion after this manner. There is no Diſagreement, ſaith he, between them about the Senſe of the Word *Juſtification*; and he alloweth theſe Four things, *viz.* 1. That the Faith which juſtifieth is not *barren*, and fruitleſs of Good Works. 2. That the *radical Seeds* or *Habits* of the other Virtues, are alſo infuſed together into the Soul along with

* *Pref.* p. 7.

Faith.

Faith. 3. That Good Works are needful to Salvation; ſo that without them it cannot be attained. 4. That Juſtification may, in a *declarative* Senſe, be attributed to Works of Righteouſneſs; all this he freely yieldeth to Mr. *Bull.* But the τὸ κρινόμενον in this Controverſy, according to him, "is *That*, for the "*ſake* of which God may receive a Sinner to "Grace, may acquit him from the Curſe of "the Law, and may make him an Heir of "everlaſting Life. And it is here agreed, that on God's part this muſt be the *Merit of Chriſt*, and *that alone*; the only difference ariſeth from the *Application* of this Merit; that is, whether it be by Faith and Works together, or elſe by the former alone. This latter Opinion is by him maintained to be the Doctrine of the *Church* of *England*, and the *Catholick Church*, and particularly of all the Churches that are called *Reformed*: And the other he accuſeth of great Singularity and Novelty, which he undertaketh to prove, but with what Succeſs, is left to the learned and candid Examiner to judge. For he * challengeth all the Fathers, both before and after St. *Auguſtin*, to be of his Opinion; moſt heavily charging, at the ſame time, the contrary one, as unſupported by any one Chriſtian Writer. He readily yieldeth indeed, that there are different Uſes of the Word *Juſtification* found among the Holy Fathers; but con-

* Cap. II. p. 12.

tendeth,

tendeth, that they all univerſally agree in the thing it ſelf, and ſtand up *againſt* the Righteouſneſs of Works, *for* the Righteouſneſs of Faith, in our Acceptance with God. And thus having claimed the Judgment of the Catholick Fathers, without ſo much as one of them excepted, to be unanimouſly for him; and triumphed over Mr. *Bull*, as he thought, on this Head, where his greateſt Excellency was generally eſteemed to lie; he proceedeth to * explain the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from her Articles and Homilies, inſiſting very much upon the literal and grammatical Senſe of them, and from the Teſtimony of ſome of her moſt learned Writers, ſuch as Mr. *Hooker* and Biſhop *Andrews*: and then † paſſeth on to the Judgment of the foreign Reformed Churches; inſtancing in the ſeveral Confeſſions of the Proteſtants of *Germany*, *France*, *Holland*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Switzerland*, beſides the Oriental Confeſſions of Faith by *Cyrillus Lucaris*. All which he hath endeavoured to bring over to his ſide, not without ſome appearance of Truth, and appealed to as Witneſſes for him, againſt the *Harmoniſt*.

His account of the Reaſons why all are not of his Opinion.

Now having laboured to eſtabliſh his own Opinion, which he ſuppoſeth to be the Faith of the Church of *England*, and to fortify it by the Authority of Fathers and Synods, and by

* Cap. iii. p. 20. † Cap. iv. p. 28.

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the whole Strengh of the Reformation; his next Endeavour, is to enquire how Mr. *Bull*, or any other, the Matter appearing to him ſo very plain, could poſſibly fall into the contrary Opinion. Wherefore the far greateſt part of his Book, is taken up in diſcovering what he is pleaſed to call, the *Fountains of this Errour*. The 1ſt of theſe is, according to him, the * *Abuſe* of the Doctrine concerning Juſtification, as by him explained, or the Fear of *Antinomianiſm*; and upon this he ſpends a whole Chapter. The 2d is the † Diſtinction between juſtifying Works and the *Merit* of them; upon this he hath alſo another Chapter, and is large in diſcuſſing the Meaning of that Diſtinction, *ex operibus* and *propter opera*. The 3d is the || Excluſion of *ſome* Works, and the Admiſſion of the *reſt*, contrary (as he will have it) to the expreſs Mind of St. *Paul*. The 4th is the ||| *imputative* Righteouſneſs of Chriſt, either exploded or not rightly underſtood; which he maintaineth to be a very great cauſe of Error in this Matter. The 5th is the manner of arguing from the ‡ *Concomitance* of Works *with* Faith, for the Juſtification *by* Works. The 6th is the miſunderſtanding the || *Nature* of Juſtifying Faith. The 7th and laſt, is the |||| *ſymbolizing* with *Popery*.

*Cap. v. p. 39. †Cap. vi. p. 44. & p. 167. || Cap. vii. p. 52. ||| Cap. viii. p. 76. ‡ Cap. ix. pag. 96, & 170. || Cap. x. p. 104. ||| Cap. xi. p. 115.

Theſe

Theſe he maketh the *ſeven Sources*, or Cauſes of departing from the Unity of the Churches Doctrine, concerning Juſtification, as the ſame is ſtated by him; and to make this out he hath ſpared no labour; and hath ſaid ſome things that are not amiſs. This Inquiry being finiſhed, the laſt Chapter was reſerved by him, for the † Reconciliation of St. *Paul* and St. *James*. But he thinketh there was no need of it, and condemneth the *Harmoniſt* and others, for being at ſo much pains, where there was ſo little occaſion for it; there being no Diſagreement at all, ſaith he, between them, ſeeing that they ſpeak not of the ſame Faith or Juſtification, and ſo cannot differ. However, he commendeth Mr. *Bull*'s Induſtry, and wiſheth only, that he might employ his Parts for the Cauſe of Truth, and of the Chriſtian Faith. This Treatiſe, Dr. *Tully* was willing ſhould be thought to have been written by him, in defence of the XIth Article of the Church of *England*. It was learnedly writ, and with ſome Spirit, and by many at firſt it was approved of, who concluded, that he had the better of the *Harmoniſt*, eſpecially in his 2^d^, 3^d^ and 4th Chapters, where his chief Strength was thought to conſiſt, and in the *Concluſion*.

† Cap. xii. p. 131.

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XL. *The Deſign of his Diſcourſe* De Sententia Paulina.

As Dr. *Tully*'s Treatiſe of *Juſtification* was pretended to be written *in Defence of the X*[th], ſo was his Diſſertation of *Original Sin*, which is his Commentary on the Seventh to the *Romans*, no leſs pretended to be written *in Defence of the IX*[th] Article of our Religion. The principal Deſign whereof, is to explain and defend theſe following Propoſitions, and more particularly the laſt of them, *viz.* 1. Original Sin is the *Depravation* of *Nature*, propagated from *Adam* to every Man. 2. By this Depravation Man is very much departed from *Original Righteouſneſs*, and hath a natural Propenſity to Evil, the Fleſh luſting always againſt the Spirit. 3. This very Depravation and Corruption of Nature, is not only at firſt in every Perſon born into this World, but doth remain even in them that are *Regenerate*. 4. The *permanence* of ſuch Depravation in the Regenerate, is confeſſed and avowed by St. *Paul*, and that even in his own Perſon: And this hath of it ſelf the Nature of Sin, and is thence no leſs than *ſeven* times, called by the Name of *Sin* in this very Seventh to the *Romans*. Here he mightily triumpheth over the *Harmoniſt*, as he every where calls him, for underſtanding St. *Paul* no better, and for not attending enough to the Doctrine of his own Church. He chargeth him with too much Precipitancy and Magiſterialneſs in judging, with Affectation of Novelty, with not rightly numbring the

Votes of the ancient Chriſtian Writers, with reviving a Calumny of *Pelagius* againſt them, and with miſtaking the Senſe of the Apoſtle ſeveral times, and wreſting it with vain and groundleſs Criticiſms. And he endeavoureth to ſhew, how among the Fathers, *Auguſtin* and *Hierom* are flatly againſt the *Harmoniſt*, though they were at firſt, before they had examined into the Matter, of another Opinion; How *Hilary* alſo, *Nazianzen* and others, before the Diſputes between *Pelagius* and *Auguſtin*, had the ſame Sentiment; how a probable Reaſon may be given, why *Origen*, *Chryſoſtome* and *Theodoret* were of another mind; that *Aquinas*, *Salmero*, *Pererius*, *A Lapide* and *Eſtius* among the *Roman* Writers, and even the Catechiſm of *Trent* it ſelf, are againſt his Interpretations; and how the Arguments which he hath brought for the Defence thereof, are not able to bear up his Hypotheſis, which ſeemeth to him grounded upon a *Pelagian bottom*, or upon the *great Diana*, (as he will needs have it) of *Free-will*. It ſeems that Dr. *Tully* was perſwaded, that if he could but overthrow Mr. *Bull*'s Interpretation of this Place in St. *Paul*, he ſhould thereby be able to overturn at once the whole Fabrick of his *Harmonia*; and indeed, Mr. *Bull* himſelf had before given the hint *: therefore he is ſo long on this Point, conſidering it as the moſt Fundamental one in

* Harm. Apoſt. Differt. II. Cap. 9. N. 27.

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the whole Building; to ſubvert which, he was hence for leaving no Stone unturned. This Diſſertation is by ſome looked on as the moſt conſiderable Part of the Doctor's Performance in this Cauſe: and is more than once taken notice of by *Mr. *Bull*, as that which deſerved his moſt particular Anſwer, and further Conſideration. For he thought there was little elſe beſides in what Dr. *Tully* had written againſt him, but what he had already anſwered, in examination of Mr. *Gataker*'s angry Animadverſions: and that this only had the face of any thing like a direct Anſwer to that part of his Book, which was referred to by it.

Soon after Dr. *Tully* had publiſhed his *Juſtificatio Paulina*, with the mentioned Diſſertation, *De Sententia Paulina*; he had, by the intereſt of his Friends at Court, the Deanry of *Rippon* given him; which yet he enjoyed not long; for he hardly lived out a Year after he had this Preferment, being broken quite with his controverſial Studies: ſo that he lived not to ſee himſelf anſwered by Mr. *Bull*, though he heard of it, his *Apology* againſt him being in the Preſs, and almoſt printed off when the good Doctor departed this Life. This Dr. *Thomas Tully* had merited the Reputation of a very pious and learned Man; but as ſome that

Dr. Tully dies, his Character.

* Pref. ad Examen. N. 3. Pref. ad Apol. N. 2. Apol. Sect. ix. N. 1.

perſonally knew him have obſerved, it was his great misfortune that he betook himſelf to write Controverſy; and eſpecially, that he engaged with ſo a brisk a Writer as Mr. *Bull* was, even then when he was well-nigh worn out. Had he kept to practical Divinity, few could have exceeded him: and as he was Maſter of an excellent *Latin* Style, with a good Degree of vivacity of Thought, and eaſineſs of Method, it is very probable, by thoſe Specimens he hath given the World of his Ability that way, that had he but followed herein the true biaſs of his Genius, he could not have failed to make himſelf famous. Some indeed ſeem to have had another Opinion concerning him, and to think he had a Genius alſo well enough turned for Controverſy. But no wonder if they were diſappointed, by expecting too much of him, and beyond what the Cauſe could really bear. And happy had it been for him, in the Judgment of his beſt Friends, had he never intermeddled in theſe theological Wars. For neither in Body, nor in Mind, ſay they, was he fitted for them. Since he was a Perſon but of a weak Conſtitution, and the many bodily Ills and Infirmities which he laboured under, eſpecially in his later Years, tended much to diſcompoſe his Mind for that intenſe Application, which is here required, and to render him a little too haſty in determining Matters, before they could be thoroughly conſidered and weighed. Otherwiſe

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he was noted for being a good Diſputant, as well as a good Preacher and Orator. But the natural Severity of his Temper being heated with the ſtrict Calviniſtical Doctrines, bound him ſo ſtreight up, that he was made hereby not very capable of managing an Argument, with all that Succeſs which might have been expected from him, conſidering his Parts and Learning.

XLI. In the Year 1675, ſoon after the Death of Dr. *Tully*, and about the End of the Year, was publiſhed by our Author, * *An Examination of the Cenſure, or an Anſwer to certain Animadverſions, never before publiſhed, upon a Book, entituled, The Apoſtolical Harmony*, &c. *by* George Bull, *a Presbyter of the Church of* England. With which was joined alſo this other Book of his, entituled, † *An Apology for the Apoſtolical Harmony, and the Author thereof againſt the Declamation of* Thomas Tully, *D. D. in a Book lately ſet forth by him, under the Title of*, Juſtificatio Paulina. There is a ſufficient Account, given in the Prefaces to both theſe Diſcourſes, of the Reaſon why they were both publiſhed together, and why ſo late alſo:

Mr. Bull *publiſhes his* Examen Cenſuræ, *and his* Apologia *together.*

* Examen Cenſuræ ſive Reſponſio ad quaſdam Animadverſiones antehac ineditas, in Librum cui titulus Harmonia Apoſtolica, &c. per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyterum.

† Apologia pro Harmonia ejuſque Authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii, S. T. P. in libro nuper typis evulgato quem Juſtificatio Paulina, &c. inſcripſit.

and therefore it would be very fooliſh to object, that it is an eaſy matter to fight againſt dead Men; for it was not Mr. *Bull*'s fault, that both theſe Replies were not printed while his Adverſaries were yet alive. And he is certainly to be commended, that as ſoon as he heard of Dr. *Tully*'s Death, he took immediate care to have ſeveral Paſſages blotted out of the Sheets remaining to be printed, becauſe they contained ſome pretty ſharp Reflections upon him, though they were true in fact, and by ſome of Mr. *Bull*'s Friends, thought too neceſſary to be omitted. Mr. *Bull* alſo profeſſeth, as a good Chriſtian, that he would willingly have ſtruck out a great deal more, if it was poſſible to have been done without a very great injury to the Truth; for as to what he might ſuffer in his own Perſon through ſuch an Omiſſion, he was not ſolicitous. This upon ſeveral occaſions he repeateth; and certainly he may deſerve to be believed in it, when he maketh ſuch a Profeſſion of his Sincerity before God and the World.

An Obſervation on his Examen, which vindicates his Sincerity.

So far as *Gataker* and *Truman* are concerned in the firſt of theſe Treatiſes, there hath been enough ſaid already: but there remaineth ſtill one Obſervation to be made concerning it, which reſpecteth the Author himſelf. And this I cannot but here mention, becauſe I look upon it as a greater Vindication of our Author, both againſt them and all his other Adverſaries, than any one that hath hitherto been

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mentioned; and as a greater inſtance of his Candour and love of Truth, than is to be met with in moſt Writers at this Day. I obſerve therefore, that his *Examen* ought not to be conſidered, barely as an Anſwer to his Adverſaries Objections, but moreover as a fuller Explication of his own Sentiments. For * he very ſolemnly aſſureth us, that when he was above forty Years of Age, he read over again his *Harmonia* ſeveral times; that he did this with as much Serioufneſs and Impartiality as it was poſſible for him; and that he earneſtly prayed to God in the firſt place, that he would vouchſafe to enlighten his Mind with a Beam of his heavenly Light, and to diſcover unto him every Error of his whatſoever, againſt the divine Truth; that for this End, he did his utmoſt to ſtrip himſelf of all Self-love, and of Fondneſs for his own Work; yea, that he made alſo a † *Vow*, and moſt ſolemnly and ſacredly bound himſelf to God, that upon the diſcovery of his Errors, he would openly and publickly before the Church renounce them, without the leaſt regard had therein to his own Reputation. Upon which Review of his Work, ſo accurately and ſo religiouſly performed, he declareth, that there were ſome things in it which might have been explained more clear-

* Apolog. Sect. viii. N. 5.

† Quibus [precibus] ſanctè quoq; *Vovi* & ſpoſpondi, me oſtenſos Errores, ſuſq; deq; habitâ exiſtimatione mea, palam & publice coram Eccleſia abrenuntiaturum. *Ibid.*

ly and fully, and which indeed, ought to have been ſo, for the ſake at leaſt of younger Readers; and that therefore he had endeavoured to ſupply this Explication as well as he could in his *Examen*. Moreover he confeſſes, that he had diſcovered his Interpretation of a difficult Place or two in St. *Paul*, not to be ſo certain as he at firſt thought; but that he could not learn any that was more certain. Wherefore alſo, he is not for inſiſting at all, upon what is in its nature obſcure and difficult, or what requireth an Exactneſs of critical Skill, or what is only incidental and circumſtantial; but only upon the main of the Argument, which he * ſuppoſeth he hath ſufficiently cleared. And however, he may poſſibly be miſtaken in ſome leſſer Matters, he proteſteth, that as to the Subſtance of the Doctrine of Man's Juſtification, which is by him defended according to the Mind of both Apoſtles, he is not without the higheſt Degree of Certainty of his being in the right. To give ſome few Inſtances of Matters, explained by Mr. *Bull* in this latter Piece, which wanted to be more diſtinctly and fully ſtated, it may be ſufficient to mention the † *Form* of Juſtifying Faith, the *imputative* Righteouſneſs of Chriſt, the Queſtions about the *Moſaical Law*, and the Nature of the *firſt Covenant* with Man in his State of Integrity.

* Exam. Cenſu. Epil. Apol. † Exam. Cenſ. p. 8, 35, 74, 76, 88, 96.

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And as to the other Treatiſe, written in anſwer to Dr. *Tully*, the ſame Obſervation will alſo hold good. For there are abundance of Paſſages in this up and down, which do clearly confirm the great Sincerity and Ingenuity of our Author, in the Management of this Controverſy. And if this be not a fair and full Apology, both for himſelf and his *Harmonia*, againſt what was objected by that Reverend Doctor and his Reviſors, there never was a Cauſe in the World fairly and fully defended. And I muſt needs ſay alſo, that he hath made the beſt Apology for his Adverſary too, that could be made, in one Article, wherein he is contrary to him, and which by parity of Reaſon may be extended to the reſt of the Articles in like manner, wherein they do not agree. For with much Ingenuity he confeſſeth, "That *Dr. *Tully* had not a few Divines of "the Church of *England*, and thoſe of ſome "Eminence alſo in it, who had led him into "the Error; but that theſe learned Men lived "in thoſe Times, when by the Arts of ſome "certain Perſons that were extremely wedded "to the *Geneva-Divinity*, matters were come "to that paſs, that it was hardly ſafe for a-"ny one to interpret either the *Articles* of "our Church, or even the *Holy Scriptures* "themſelves, otherwiſe than according to the "Standard of *Calvin's Inſtitutions*, whoſe Er-

An Obſervation upon his Apology, which confirms the ſame.

* Apolo. *Sect.* N. 11, 7.

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" ror therefore, ſaith he, ought not ſo much " to be imputed to them, as to the Age where- " in they lived. Since almoſt in every Age, " as one hath well obſerved, there is as it " were a certain *Torrent* of Opinions proper to " it, againſt which, whoſoever ſhall go to op- " poſe himſelf, he will certainly either be " carried away with the Violence thereof, or " be quite overwhelmed. This is an Obſer- vation that is very juſt; and the Candor of Mr. *Bull*, in the Application of it, ought not, I think, to be quite paſſed over in ſilence. Nay, did I know a better Excuſe for Dr. *Tully*, and other good and learned Men, who were edu- cated in ſuch Times, and according to ſuch Principles, and ſo were carried on by the Zeal of what was called *Orthodox*; I would be as willing to do him and them right, as the wor- thy Perſon whoſe Life I am writing. But I know no better than that which this judicious Apologiſt hath made himſelf on their behalf. There are not a few Inſtances beſides in this very Treatiſe, which prove him a ſincere as well as a learned Writer, but which cannot be here inſiſted on. It is much to be lamented, that ſo good a Man as Dr. *Tully* was generally eſteemed to be, ſhould ſo unhappily be en- gaged in a Controverſy of this nature, but eſpecially, that he ſhould be ſo far tran- ſported in the Management of it, as not to ex- amine with a due care, the Arguments and Authorities of his Author, whom he propoſed

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to anſwer: and ſo thereby to lay himſelf too open to a juſt Cenſure, and to hurt his Reputation ſo far, as even to render himſelf by this means ſuſpected of ſome Inſincerity. Yet it is to be feared, that this hath been the Caſe of many an honeſt Man, who by the ſtrength of Prejudice and an impetuoſity of Zeal, may have been carried much farther than ever was deſigned, to the no ſmall Prejudice of the Truth. But for Mr. *Bull*, it muſt needs be acknowledged, that with a very laudable Diligence he ſpared no Pains, that he might thoroughly and impartially examine all that ever his Adverſary could bring againſt him: neither muſt it be denied, that he hath made ſuch juſt and reaſonable Conceſſions, as render his own Cauſe the ſtronger, while they yield to the oppoſite that which it might lawfully demand. And indeed, this his Apology is written with ſo much maſterly Strength and Judgment, that a very learned Foreigner called it, the *Triumph of the Church of* England in this Cauſe. *Dr.* Grabe.

XLII. *The preferring Modern Authority before Catholick Tradition, ſhewn to be unreaſonable.*

Now whereas the Authority of certain foreign Divines, had been made uſe of in this Controverſy by Dr. *Tully* and others, againſt the Catholick Tradition of this Article, as explained and maintained in the *Harmonia*; our Apologiſt affirms it to be moſt unreaſonable, and againſt the Principles of the Church of *England*, to prefer the Authority of any Modern

dern Doctor, or Doctors whatsoever, before a Truth grounded upon Scripture, with the unanimous Consent of the Catholick Church. Upon this occasion, he taketh notice of what Bishop *Jewel* had urged before, in his Apology for our Reformation, that it was founded purely upon Catholick Principles, and upon the Model of the Primitive Church; by which means the new Discipline introduced by *Calvin*, being rejected, the Order of Episcopacy was retained, and the most ancient Forms of publick Prayers, and sacred Rites, and several Primitive Doctrines, not in the least agreeable with *Calvin*'s Notions, which are by him there particularized, were established and confirmed. And as for the Judgment of the Church of *England* upon this Point, he appealeth to a Canon made in full Convocation, *A. D.* 1571, and afterwards confirmed by Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby it is ordained, that all Preachers *shall chiefly take heed, that they teach nothing but what is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholick Fathers and Primitive Bishops have thence collected.* And moreover he cites a Constitution of King *James* the First, requiring all Candidates of Divinity, not to spend much of their Time in Systems and Compendiums, but to apply themselves seriously to the study of such Books, as are agreeable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, and particularly, to the reading of the Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, Histories;

ſtories: And to this he adds, the Teſtimonies of many eminent Writers in our Church, to the ſame purpoſe; profeſſing themſelves moſt readily to embrace, next to the ſacred Books, the conſentient Teſtimony of the ancient Fathers; and that they were not willing to admit any thing, either in the *Doctrine* or *Government* of the Church, which ſhould not be agreeable to it.

Upon which, the moſt learned and pious Editor of his Works, could not forbear expreſſing his moſt hearty Wiſhes, that there were many more of the ſame Opinion, who would not refuſe to ſubmit their private Thoughts and Interpretations of Scripture, to be determined by primitive and univerſal Tradition; hoping that this might be a Means of reſtoring the Church to a better State. Our Author now hath clearly given his Judgment in this Matter, and hath declared himſelf in more than one place, that this is the beſt, yea the only way of ending our moſt unhappy Controverſies, which have rent the Church of Chriſt at this day into ſo many parts, if next to the Scriptures, we would receive and reverence the moſt pure and primitive Antiquity, and perſwade others to the ſame practice, and religiouſly follow the *agreeing Judgment* of the ancient Doctors approved by the Catholick Church, and eſpecially of them who were neareſt to the Apoſtolical Age, whereſoever this can be found, which he aſſerteth, is to be found in all thoſe Points that are of any great

The beſt Method of ending Controverſies in the Church.

moment; And as for the reſt, his Advice is, that every one be left to the liberty of his own Judgment, but ſo as not to diſturb the Peace of the Church.

XLIII. And whereas Dr. *Tully* had among other things * objected alſo againſt him, his being but little acquainted with the ancient Fathers of the Church, when he publiſhed his *Harmonia*; and that therefore he ſhould not have attempted to write when his Skill in Antiquity was ſo *moderate*; Mr. *Bull* modeſtly acknowledgeth *omnia mea modica*, that he had no great Matter indeed to boaſt of in any Part of Learning: But however he gives him to underſtand, that for no leſs than five Years before he wrote his *Harmonia*, he had addicted himſelf to the Study of the Fathers, next to the Holy Scriptures; and more eſpecially of the Writers of the three firſt Centuries; and likewiſe acquainteth him, that he had been adviſed to this Method of Reading, by a very great Man in the Church, who had admoniſhed him to lay the Foundation of his Theological Studies after that manner, and ſo to read downwards; whoſe Memory was had in great honour by him. He leaves us to gueſs who this great Man was, becauſe he doth not name him; tho' 'tis probable, that it was either Biſhop *Pearſon* or Biſhop *Nicholſon*; but whoever gave

Mr. Bull *anſwers Dr.* Tully's *Objection, of his little Skill in the Fathers when he writ his* Harmonia.

* Apol. Sect. iv.

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the Advice, he reckoneth it the happieſt he ever did receive; and he wiſheth that he might be but worthy to prevail on the Candidates of Divinity in *Oxford* to follow the ſame Method.

Then he giveth the Hiſtory of the Conſent of the Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, in favour of his Interpretation down to St. *Auguſtin*; and ſheweth, that if any of theſe ſpeak of Juſtification as by *Faith alone*, they never once take it for Faith ſimply and abſtractedly conſidered, but only as it is perfectly *formed* and animated; and ſo not ſeparated from inward Contrition and Charity; and as the ſame is oppoſed either to external Works in general, and the actual Righteouſneſs of ſuch; or to the Works of the *Law of nature*, performed before and without the Knowledge, Faith and Grace of the Goſpel; or to the Works of the *Moſaical Law*; or to any others wrought from a Principle of *Merit* in the Creature. And becauſe Dr. *Tully* profeſſeth ſo high an Eſteem for St. *Auguſtin*, as to prefer him to all Antiquity, our Apologiſt concludeth his Catalogue of the Fathers with him, and clearly proveth, that Father to be of his, and not of the Doctor's Mind; and this not only from ſome ſcattered Paſſages in him, but from the whole deſign of his Book, *De fide & operibus*, whereof an account is here given. Thus having done with the *Fathers*,

The Greek *and* Latin *Fathers favour Mr.* Bull's *Interpretation.*

He

His Answer about the Judgment of the Church of England, and the foreign Reformed.

He proceedeth next to examine the * Judgment of the Church of *England*, and how truly this is represented by his Adversary. And though he had abundantly before explained himself on this Head, yet this being a very tender Point, and so eagerly pressed by every one that had appeared against him, but most of all by this last Answerer, Mr. *Bull* found himself under a Necessity, of omitting nothing that could tend to clear him from that Aspersion, which was likely to prejudice Peoples Minds most against him, and most sensibly to affect him and his Ministry. Wherefore he is very large and particular in defending the true Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and in refelling the Doctor's Allegations against him, from the Articles and the Homilies. After which, he examineth also with great accuracy, the Judgment of the foreign Reformed Churches, by their several Confessions: and he is very full in vindicating the Confession of *Ausburgh*, which he had stiled *the most Noble* of all the Reformed Churches; and shewing how it was followed by our first Reformers, and particularly by them in compiling our Articles. Nor doth he omit any thing considerable, that could be said upon the Head of all the rest of the Confessions, to prove that they taught, that besides Faith, true Repentance was moreover necessary for the obtaining Remission of Sins and

* Apol. Sect. v.

Justi-

Juſtification. Where the Words of the Noble Confeſſion of *Strasbourgh*, which had been miſinterpreted by his Adverſary, are by him challenged; and ſome Paſſages which had been cited from others very much illuſtrated.

XLV. *Dr. Tully charged with ſeveral Errors.*

And having fully juſtified the Conformity of his Doctrine to the Determination of the Church of *England*, and to that of the other Reformed Churches; he goeth on to ſhew, that his learned Adverſary hath in ſeveral Points contradicted both. By which he is led into the Conſideration of ſeveral other Matters of the greateſt moment; which are here diſtinctly and fundamentally handled; and the true Catholick Doctrine ſtated and vindicated, in oppoſition to certain novel Opinions. More particularly, he chargeth his Adverſary with maintaining theſe four Heterodoxies among others, 1ſt. That * Repentance is no ways neceſſary for obtaining the *firſt Juſtification*, or Pardon for Sin. † 2d. That our Juſtification, being once obtained by Faith alone, the Continuation of it doth not depend upon the Condition of Good Works, to be performed by us for the Time to come. 3d. ‖ That a Man being once endowed with Juſtifying Faith, can never afterwards ſo far fall from it as to be loſt for ever. 4th. ‡ That Chriſt did only ſa-

* Apol. Sect. vii. N. 1. † N. 6. ‖ Apol. vii N. 7——24. ‡ N. 24, &c.

tisfie and offer himſelf upon the Croſs for the Sins of the Elect. All which Poſitions he proveth to be repugnant to the clear and expreſs Definitions of the Church of *England*, and of other Reformed Churches, and indeed of the whole Catholick Church.

The Ancient Fathers of Mr. Bull's *Opinion, upon the* viith *of the* Romans.

And whereas Dr. *Tully* had pretended, that the *Harmoniſt* had but very few of the Ancients of his Opinion, as to his Interpretation of the Seventh to the *Romans*; and that after the Life of *Pelagius*, all, or almoſt all of the Fathers were expreſs againſt him, and that of modern Divines, he had not above one or two of any Eminency for him; Mr. *Bull* hath proved, that beſides *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Macarius*, *Origen*, *Baſil*, *Cyrill*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, and as many more that had been cited by *Voſſius* and other learned Men, for this Interpretation of his; there were ſix other illuſtrious Teſtimonies, which he himſelf had diſcovered, *viz.* *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Marcus Eremita*, *Dorotheus*, *Pacianus* and *Ennodius*. Then he ſheweth, that the Interpretation of ſome of the Moderns, eſpouſed by his Adverſary, is very far from the Senſe and Mind of St. *Auguſtin* himſelf, whom they ſo much ſeem to depend on: As alſo that the *Greek* Fathers and Doctors, even after St. *Auguſtin* and *Pelagius*, did conſtantly adhere to the Interpretation received and approved in the Catholick Church; yea, that even all the *Latin* Fathers after that time, did ſtill perſiſt in

in the ancient and primitive Expoſition of St. *Paul.* And among the Moderns, Mr. *Bull* produceth both of the Romaniſts and of the foreign Proteſtants, that were eminent, a conſiderable Number for his Opinion, beſides Dr. *Jackſon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Biſhop *Taylor*, and others of our own Countrymen: Afterwards he anſwers ſeveral Objections of his Adverſary, particularly that his Interpretation was not conformable to the Doctrine of our Church. And whereas it was urged, that there was a great Agreement between the *Harmoniſt*'s and the *Romaniſt*'s Doctrine of Juſtification; that Objection is retorted in this Apology upon the Accuſers: and it is herein ſhewn, that the Doctor's Opinion doth perfectly harmonize with the Popiſh one, eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Trent*, which will not have true Contrition of Sins to be neceſſary for Juſtification, and which is contended for in oppoſition to the Decree of that Council by our Apologiſt.

XLVI. *Mr.* Baxter *alſo anſwers Dr.* Tully.

In the Year 1676, there was publiſhed alſo an Anſwer to Dr. *Tully*, by Mr. *Richard Baxter*, under the Title of, *A Treatiſe of Juſtifying Righteouſneſs:* in two Books; the firſt related to *Imputed Righteouſneſs*, and *with an Anſwer to Dr.* Tully's *Letter*; the ſecond contained, *A Friendly Debate with the learned and worthy Mr.* Chriſtopher Cartwright; *containing*, 1. *His* Animadverſions *on my* Aphoriſms, *with my* Anſwer. 2. *His* Exceptions *againſt*

that Answer. 3. *My* Reply *to the Sum of the Controversies agitated in those* Exceptions. *All published instead of a fuller Answer to the Assaults of Dr.* Tully's Justificatio Paulina, *Lond.* 8°. Of which Treatise of Dr. *Tully* he sticketh not to give this Character, that it is * *defective in point of Truth, Justice, Charity, Ingenuity and Pertinency to the Matter.* Nevertheless he several times acknowledgeth the Doctor to be a very worthy Person, and consequently one, that could not willingly be guilty of any such Defect as he is here charged with. And indeed, it was the Unhappiness both of Mr. *Baxter* and him, that they gave but too much reason for the Imputation, under which they both equally lay, of being *Angry Writers*. This Treatment of him by Mr. *Baxter* I the rather mention, that if some things in Mr. *Bull*'s Apology may appear a little too severe upon this Writer, the Reader may easily think there was some occasion for it more than could have been wished. For the good Man it seems had represented to himself those three, *Bull, Bellarmin* and *Baxter*, as the *three great Adversaries* of the Faith, which was professed by him, and which he verily believed to be no other, than that of the Church of *England*: And thence he falleth so very foul upon each of these, as if they were in a *Triple League* together, and layeth about with all his might, to overthrow

* Part. I. Chap. 6.

what

what he ſuppoſeth to have been deſigned by them, againſt that which he eſteemed as the very *Chriſtian Palladium*, and is by him *ſo called. The firſt and laſt of theſe pleaded their own Cauſe, as we have ſeen; and not without ſucceſs, eſpecially the firſt; ſo only *Bellarmin* is left to ſhift for himſelf, who after all, wrote notwithſtanding on this Subject with more Moderation than moſt of his Communion, or he himſelf who formed the Charge againſt him, and who for certain was dragged into the Controverſy, only for the ſake of the other two.

How Mr. Tombes *animadverted upon Mr.* Bull.

There was alſo another Anſwer, about the ſame time, to Mr. *Bull's Harmonia*, written in *Latin* by *John Tombes*, B. D, who hath been before mentioned; of which I find very little notice to have been taken, though ſome † will have it, that there were few better Diſputants in his Age than he was, and it is certain, that he had ſtudied this Controverſy for ſome time before, both in his Debates with the *Antinomians*, and thoſe which he had with the || greateſt Oppoſer of them among the Presbyterians. For he had, near about twenty Years before, written alſo in *Latin* ‡ *ſome Animadverſions upon Mr.* Baxter's *Aphoriſms concerning Juſtification*; and had on the other hand,

* Juſtif. Paulin. † Athe. Oxon. || Ed. Calam. *Abridgment of Mr.* Baxter's *Life, chap.* ix. ‡ Animadverſiones quædam in Aphoriſmos *Richardi Baxteri* de Juſtificatione, 1658.

preached likewiſe in *London*, before an eminent Congregation, ſeveral Sermons againſt Dr. *Criſp*, and certain dangerous Miſtakes and Miſapplications of the Proteſtant Doctrine of *Juſtification*. Mr. *Baxter* it ſeemeth printed theſe Animadverſions of his Adverſary, but without acquainting him firſt therewith; and replied to them. This dealing Mr. *Tombes*, being thereby prevented from explaining himſelf farther as he had intended, hath * complained of as hard; even as Mr. *Baxter* hath done of Dr. *Tully*: And hereupon he drew out all his Artillery againſt Mr. *Bull*, whom he conſidered as an Enemy of greater weight, and one from whom he might expect alſo other Treatment; and therefore was reſolved to make his laſt Effort now upon one, that was eſteemed the moſt perfect Maſter in Controverſy, and who had brought together the whole Strength of the Cauſe in which he was engaged, with all the Management and Learning that could ſet it off to the beſt Advantage. Beſides, he took this occaſion of farther clearing and juſtifying what he had written againſt the *Aphoriſt*, before Dr. *Tully* entered the Liſts againſt him: And of giving the World his ſecond, and more correct Thoughts upon theſe nice Points, ſo controverted by Proteſtants and Papiſts among themſelves. It is alſo very probable, that he did not find that Satisfaction in

* Epiſt. Dedi. ad Animad. In Lib. G. Bulli, &c.

Dr.

Dr. *Tully*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Bull*, this having been out then above a Year, which he firſt looked for: And that he was ſtill more diſſatisfied with the Anſwer of Mr. *Truman*, whoſe Principles were not a little different from his. As for the Animadverſions of the younger *Gataker*, he could not have ſeen them, they not being printed, till his own were in the Preſs: And if he had ſeen and read them, it cannot be thought, that he would have been diverted by any thing in them, from undertaking a Labour which lay ſo near his heart, and whence he promiſed himſelf ſo great a Triumph. But he was now grown old, and not the Man he formerly had been, whatſoever he might think of himſelf, or what aſſurance ſoever he might have of Victory as an Advocate for the firſt Reformers, as he would be thought to be. For it was evidently a Weakneſs in him at Threeſcore and Twelve Years of Age, when he was quite worn out, and juſt ready to drop into his Grave, to begin a new Combat unprovoked: And becauſe about twenty or thirty Years before, when he was in the full vigour both of Body and Mind, he had been ſucceſsful enough in engaging with an Adverſary viſibly inferiour in Strength, to undertake now in his latter Days, to grapple with an Enemy every way his Superior, an exact Maſter in the Arts of this ſort of War, and one ſo extraordinarily accompliſhed beſides, both by Experience and Study, for maintaining and defending this par-

ticular Cauſe dependent betwixt them, as our Mr. *Bull* was, even beyond ſome who otherwiſe might be his Rivals in Learning; he being then alſo in the very prime and fulneſs of Strength, and every way qualified for ſuch Labours as theſe of the Mind. The old Man, zealous however for his Cauſe, publiſhed at *London* his Book againſt Mr. *Bull*, juſt at the very ſame time, that Mr. *Bull*'s Juſtification of himſelf, and his Work againſt Mr. *Gataker* and Dr. *Tully* came forth. But this did him no harm at all; for he had ſo fully already removed all the material Objections of Mr. *Tombes*, in his Anſwers to the Strictures of thoſe two learned Calvinian Divines, and ſo clearly demonſtrated the Weakneſs of their Foundation, that there needed no farther Apology to be made, for his Book and himſelf, againſt ſuch an Hypotheſis as could be not better defended, by the great Learning of its Supporters. Mr. *Tombe*'s Book was called, * *Animadverſions upon a Book of* George Bull's, *which he hath entituled, the Apoſtolical Harmony*. According to the Title Page, it ſhould have been publiſhed in 1676, but Mr. *Bull* had ſeen a printed Copy of it before the End of 1675, when he was concluding his general Preface to his two *Apologetical* Treatiſes aforenamed, ſo that the Edition of it, muſt have been in *Mi-*

* Animadverſiones in Librum Georgii Bulli cui titulum fecit Harmonia Apoſtolica, &c.

chaelmas

chaelmas Term of this laſt Year, and about half a Year before the Author's Death.

An Account of this new Animadverter and his Character.

This Mr. *Tombes*, our Author's laſt Adverſary, as to his Cauſe, were it not for ſome Notions which he fell into againſt the Catholick Practice, and Doctrine of the Church, ſuch as Men of Learning in the ſeveral Communions could by no means approve of, and which particularly Mr. *Bull* was averſe to in the higheſt degree, he might poſſibly have preſerved a Reputation among the Learned, not inferior to many of his Age. He was educated at *Oxford*, in *Magdalen* Hall, under the famous Mr. *William Pemble*, Author of *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, and of ſeveral other learned Treatiſes, whom he ſucceeded in the Catechetical Lecture of the ſaid Hall: and approved himſelf an excellent Diſputant, and no bad Divine upon the Principles of the Anti-Remonſtrants, which were then much in faſhion. It cannot be denied, but that he was eſteemed a Perſon of incomparable Parts: and therefore was choſen Lecturer in this Hall, upon his Tutor's Deceaſe, when he was yet but one and twenty Years old, and of ſix Years ſtanding only in the Univerſity. Which Lecture he held for about ſeven Years; and then left *Oxford*, and went to *Worceſter* firſt, and after that to *Lemſter* in *Herefordſhire*; at both which Places he made himſelf very popular by his Preaching. But having no Preferment beſtowed upon him, as ſome will have it, ſuitable to his Merit, it

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is thought he became uneaſie to ſee himſelf ſo much neglected: and thence made himſelf to be ſuſpected as a Perſon inclined to the Puritans; or not ſo rightly affected at leaſt to the Church eſtabliſhed, as by his Education he ought to have been. Which Suſpicion increaſed more and more concerning him, as the Faction againſt Church and State grew ſtronger: And having acquired no ſmall Reputation in the Place where he lived, for a more powerful way of Preaching than ordinary; as all proſpect of Advancement in the Church was now taken from him, he was the more diſpoſed to follow the Stream of the Times, and the growing Intereſt of a Party, pretending to a greater Purity of Reformation, both in Faith, and Worſhip, and Manners; and more eſpecially, ſince by ſuch as theſe, he was chiefly crowded after and applauded. It was about the Year 1630, that he began to be famous in the City of *Worceſter*, and in 1641, he had the Living of *All-Saints* in *Briſtol* given him by *Fiennes*, who managed that City for the Parliament, where he continued till 1643, when the City was ſurrendred to the King's Party; ſowing in that time the Seeds of ſome of thoſe Opinions wherewith that City ſo abounded, when Mr. *Bull* firſt came into the Neighbourhood of it. Afterwards going to *London*, he became *Maſter* of the *Temple*; where he preached againſt the Antinomians, as he ſays in his Epiſtle Dedicatory before his

Animadverſions upon the *Harmonia*, with a deſign to ſhew how their Errors did proceed from a *miſunderſtanding* of the Doctrine of the Juſtification of a Sinner. He continued in this Place about four Years, when he was ſupplanted by one *Johnſon*. After this he went to *Beudly* in *Worceſterſhire*, at which time Mr. *Baxter* was Miniſter of *Kidderminſter*, another Market Town, about three Miles diſtant from that place, being very much followed. They preached againſt one anothers Doctrines, and publiſhed Books againſt each other. *Tombes* was the Head of the Anabaptiſts, and *Baxter* of the Presbyterians: the Victory, as it is uſual, was claimed by both ſides: but ſome of the Learned, who were affected to neither of them, yielded the Advantage both of Learning and Argument to the former, while yet they were as far from approving his Cauſe, as even Mr. *Baxter* himſelf could be. Certain it is, that his Doctrine did ſpread mightily in a little time, a conſiderable Number both of Preſbyterians and Independents being brought over by him. In 1653, being in *London*, he was appointed one of the Tryers of Publick Miniſters. About the ſame time he got likewiſe the Parſonage of *Roſſe*, and the Maſterſhip of the Hoſpital in *Ledbury*, both in *Herefordſhire*; which he kept with *Lemſter* and *Bendly*. At the Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second, when he ſaw and conſidered to what a woful Condition this poor Kingdom had

had been brought, under the Pretext of Religion and Liberty, by reſtleſs Spirits, being willing to take this for a providential Determination, he quietly and readily ſubmitted himſelf to the Royal Party, and reſolved to live peaceably for the future, under the *Legal* Eſtabliſhment of the Church, by conforming himſelf to it as a Lay-Communicant: but would never accept either Benefice or Dignity, which was offered him. And to juſtifie his Conformity, and to excite others to follow his Example, he writ a Book, called, *Theodulia*, or *a juſt Defence of hearing the Sermons and other Teaching of the preſent Miniſters of the Church of* England; *againſt a Book, unjuſtly Intitled*, (in *Greek*) *A Chriſtian Teſtimony againſt them that ſerve the Image of the Beaſt.* Lond. 1667. Nevertheleſs, he continued in his Judgment as much an Antepædobaptiſt as ever. The *Oxford* Biographer, who is never to be ſuſpected of Partiality for any Perſons Puritanically inclined, ſaith of him, "That ſet aſide his Ana-"baptiſtical Poſitions, he was conformable e-"nough to the Church, would frequently go to "Common Prayer, and receive the Sacrament at "*Salisbury*, and often viſit Dr. *Ward*, Biſhop of "that Place, who reſpected him for his Learn-"ing. And the Abridger of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, notwithſtanding that he created Mr. *Baxter* the moſt trouble of any, or all his Adverſaries, yet repreſenteth him under the Character of one, whom all the World muſt own "to have been

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" a very conſiderable Man, and an excellent " Scholar, how diſinclined ſoever they may " be to his particular Opinions. The moſt learned and judious Biſhop *Sanderſon*, had a great Eſteem for him; as had alſo one of his Succeſſors, Biſhop *Barlow*. It was his good fortune to marry a rich Widow in *Salisbury*, not long before the King's Return; by whom enjoying an Eſtate, he lived chiefly there till his Death, which hapned at that place in 1676, aged 73 Years.

XLVII. *The Charge of Dr.* Lewis du Moulin, *brought againſt Mr.* Bull *and his Principles.*

In the Year 1680, Dr. *Lewis du Moulin*, Son of the famous *Peter du Moulin*, a violent Independent, came forth with a virulent Pamphlet againſt the Church of *England*, called, *A ſhort and true Account of the ſeveral* Advances the Church of England *hath made* towards Rome: *or a Model of the Grounds, upon which the Papiſts, for theſe hundred Years, have built their Hopes and Expectations, that* England *would ere long return to* Popery. Lond. 1680. 4to. In which Pamphlet, he falleth hard upon the Principles and Opinions advanced by Mr. *Bull*, and other eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, eſpecially Dr. *Stillingfleet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Patrick*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*: and greatly commendeth the Induſtry and Zeal of Dr. *Tully*, and Dr. *Barlow* at *Oxford*, as the two principal Perſons, who did keep that Univerſity from being *poiſoned with Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm*

and

and *Popery*. This was deſpiſed as it deſerved by Mr. *Bull*. But ſoon after, there came out an Anſwer to this Book, with the Title of, *A lively Picture of* Lewis du Moulin, *drawn by the incomparable hand of Mr.* Daillé. And Dr. *du Moulin* not long ſurviving after this, retracted upon his Death-bed all the *perſonal Reflections*, which in his Book he had made upon any Divine of the Church of *England*, and ordered this his Retractation to be made publick after his Death. Which was accordingly publiſhed, under this Title, *viz. The laſt Words of Dr.* Lewis du Moulin, *being his Retractation of all the perſonal Reflections, he had made on the Divines of the Church of* England, *in ſeveral of his Books*: Signed by himſelf, on the 5th and 17th of *October*, 1680, *London*. Nevertheleſs, without the Knowledge of his Wife, or other Relations (as is ſaid) there was publiſhed after his Death, a continuation of the aforeſaid Libel, entituled, *An additional Account of the Church of* England's *Advances towards Popery*. For it ſeems, that the *Soliſidian* Doctrine was by a great many looked on as the main Pillar of the Proteſtant Religion, which being once ſhaken, they thought there could be no poſſibility for it to bear up its Head againſt Popery, or to juſtify the Proceedings of *Luther*, and the other firſt Reformers. This was plainly inſinuated in ſeveral Books about this time publiſhed; and none ſtood more expoſed to this Cenſure than the

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Treatiſes of our Author, which continuing to prevail more and more, it is no wonder ſome angry Books were written by the hot Calviniſts, tending to create a ſuſpicion of the Clergy, and Univerſities of this Kingdom, as if they were advancing apace to *Rome*, while they were for paying a greater Deference to the firſt Writers of Chriſtianity, than to any of the Sixteenth Century whatſoever. Mr. *Bull* was looked upon, to have mainly contributed to infeſt the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by his Writings, with ſuch Doctrines: But he had ſo fully, yea ſo abundantly vindicated himſelf, by his learned and judicious Apology againſt Dr. *Tully*, that nothing could be more unfair, than an Accuſation of ſuch a nature as this, after he had been ſo well juſtified from it.

The Concluſion of this Controverſy, that related to Mr. Bull's *Harmonia Apoſtolica.*

Thus I have endeavoured, to preſent the Reader with an impartial Account of this whole Controverſy concerning Juſtification, as it was managed betwixt Mr. *Bull* and his learned Adverſaries: Wherein I have recited, Matters and Arguments on both ſides as an Hiſtorian, and have not willingly concealed any thing, which might make for them or againſt him. This hath inſenſibly drawn me out, by the great variety of Incidents, much further than ever I could have imagined at firſt. But if hereby the Truth ſhall appear, to indifferent and unprejudiced Perſons, to be ſet in its juſt Light, it will be Satisfaction enough for the Pains that have been taken, to make ſuch a tho-

thorough Search as was neceſſary, in order to this. The Schemes of the ſeveral Writers have been for this End here repreſented; the Grounds, Occaſion and Method of their Writing, hiſtorically related; an Abſtract given alſo of the moſt Conſiderable of their Pleas, whether from Scripture, Reaſon or Antiquity, with ſome account of their Perſons and Characters. This was in a manner neceſſary, that a clear and full View might be had at once of ſo intricate a Diſpute, about theſe arduous Points: And that the Sagacity and Solidity of Mr. *Bull*, might more conſpicuouſly be diſplayed, by allowing to his Enemies all the Advantage that could fairly be done; and that the invincible Strength of Reaſoning, wherewith the God of Truth had endowed him, might break forth with more luſtre, through the many and fierce Oppoſitions which for a time were made againſt him. For the Names of *Gataker*, *Truman* and *Tully*, have by their unſucceſsful Attacks, ſerved but to render that of *BULL* the more celebrated. And as to this laſt Animadverter, for as much as his Principles were, as to this Head, the ſame as thoſe with Dr. *Tully*, his Method with that of *Gataker*, and his Arguments with thoſe, of one or the other of theſe; and for as much, as Mr. *Bull* did not think his Book conſiderable enough to deſerve any Anſwer, after he had ſo fully replied to the other two; there was no need to inſiſt at all upon what was urged by him over

over again. I shall also pass over what several excellent Writers, and eminent Preachers in our Church have taken up, both in their Writing and Preaching on the Covenant of the Gospel, and the Methods of arriving at eternal Happiness, from the rich Treasury of our Author, who seemeth indeed to have exhausted this Subject: And shall proceed.

XLVIII. *The same Controversy at this time carried on also among* Dissenters.

Now at the very same time that this Controversy was agitated in the Church; it was carried on also among the Dissenters, with no small Warmth. By which Means the State of the Case became somewhat altered from what it would otherways have been, had Mr. *Bull* alone been considered as Principal in it. And there were three chief Heads of difficulty in determining this Matter, which mightily puzzled them, which side soever they took; namely, the Reconciliation of Divine Prescience, with the Liberty of Man's Will in his Conversion, and subsequent Justification; the Determination of the Manner and Measure of the Operation of God's Grace, with and upon the human Will; And the way how to attribute all our Good to God, and all our Evil to our selves. Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Truman*, who went both the same way, thought they were able easily to solve these Difficulties by the help of their Method: But others of the Dissenting Ministers, would by no means subscribe to what was advanced by these; and thought

the Difficulties ſtill to remain as great as they were at firſt. And there was a Book of *Aphoriſms*, written by Mr. *Baxter*, which made as much ſtir among them, as the *Harmonia* written by Mr. *Bull*, did among us: wherefore the Name of *Aphoriſta* is always given to the firſt of theſe, as well as that of *Harmoniſta* to the ſecond, by Dr. *Tully*, in his Cenſure of both theſe Writers. The *Aphoriſms* of Mr. *Baxter*, had been excepted againſt at their firſt coming out by ſeveral learned Men: they were anſwered by Mr. *John Crandon*, of *Fowley* in *Hampſhire*, in a Book which he inſcribed, *Mr.* Baxter's *Aphoriſms Exorciſed*; and by Mr. *William Eyre*, of *Salisbury*, in his *Vindiciæ Juſtificationis Gratuitæ*. Beſides which, they were occaſionally Animadverted upon, by Dr. *John Wallis*, Mr. *George Lawſon*, Mr. *John Warren*, Mr. *Chriſtopher Cartwright*, and laſtly, by Dr. *Thomas Tully*. Some of theſe wrote upon the Motion and Deſire of the Author himſelf; upon which he publiſhed his Suſpenſion of theſe Aphoriſms; then his fuller Explication and Defence of them in his *Apology*; and afterwards, an additional Explication and Defence of them, both in his *Confeſſion of Faith*, and in his *Diſputations of Juſtification*. Many Papers paſſed between Mr. *Cartwright* and him, concerning theſe Aphoriſms: which were alſo defended by him againſt the other Animadverters, but more particularly againſt *Crandon* and *Eyre*, long before ever he was fallen upon,

on, together with Mr. *Bull*, by Dr. *Tully*. This Controverſy was long afterwards kept up among the Diſſenters, ſome taking the part of Mr. *Baxter*, but others violently condemning him, as a favourer of the Socinian Principles, for the very ſame reaſon, that Mr. *Bull* was ſuſpected by ſome, even becauſe he exerted himſelf, in laying open the pernicious Conſequences of the Antinomian Scheme.

The Caſe of Dr. Williams *among the Diſſenters, about the Antinomian Controverſy.*

Some time after this, Mr. *Daniel Williams*, now a Doctor in Divinity, and an eminent Preacher and Writer in this City, among the Presbyterians, made himſelf famous for managing the Controverſy againſt the Antinomian Principles, when they were breaking in with great impetuoſity among thoſe of his Perſwaſion; and who hath thereby been very-ſerviceable, in reclaiming great Numbers from their abſurd and falſe Notions, concerning the Goſpel of our Lord, and the Terms of Salvation, and bringing them to a right Senſe of the Nature of his Satisfaction, and our Juſtification; even as Mr. *Bull* had done. Dr. *Williams* may be ſaid to have ſucceeded Mr. *Baxter*, in the Management of theſe Diſputes, as he alſo incurred thereby, the ſame hard Cenſure from ſome of his own Brethren, as if he were a maintainer of Opinions *inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction*, and ſo had given up the Cauſe to the Socinians. And as Mr. *Bull* and Mr. *Baxter*, had before ſuffered in this Cauſe, ſo it fell alſo to the lot of this

laſt Advocate for the Truth, to ſuffer in like manner; and as many as were of his Judgment alſo, to be charged together with him, for abetting Pelagianiſm, Socinianiſm and Arminianiſm.

The Occaſion that engaged him in this Controverſy.

The Occaſion now which engaged him in this Controverſy, after that it ſeemed to have been laid aſleep, was this; Dr. *Criſp*'s Book, the Fountain of all theſe Errors, was by his Son, Mr. *Samuel Criſp*, reprinted in or about the Year 1690, when the Socinian Controverſy was here very hotly agitated, with Additions, and with the Names of ſeveral of the Presbyterian and Independent Miniſters prefixed, as approving the ſame. By the means of this Book, thus recommended and authorized, the Poiſon of Antinomianiſm ſoon ſpread, not only in the Country, but infected this great City to that degree, that the more ſober of the Presbyterian Miniſters were ſcarce able to preach a Sermon, wherein either Hope was aſſerted by conditional Promiſes, or the Fear of Sin was preſſed by the Divine Threatnings, but they were immediately cenſured and condemned, as Enemies of Chriſt and of Free-Grace; and eſpecially, were cried out againſt violently by many of the Anabaptiſts and Independents. Yea, one of them preaching at *Pinners-Hall*, that Repentance was neceſſary to the Remiſſion of Sins, that Pulpit was ſoon filled with the hardeſt Cenſures againſt the Presbyterians. At the Requeſt of many of the Mini-

Ministers of that Persuasion, Mr. *Williams* undertook therefore to confute that Book, which was the chief Source of this Evil. This he did, first by a Sermon at *Pinners-Hall*, and afterwards by a Book called, *Gospel Truths stated and vindicated*: Wherein some of the more dangerous of Dr. *Crisp*'s Opinions were considered, and the opposite Truths plainly stated and confirmed.

His Method is always to state the *Truth* and the *Error* upon each Head, then to prove that this last was the Opinion of Dr. *Crisp*; after that, to shew wherein the Difference is *not*, and this being done, to declare what the *real* and proper Difference is. And having thus explained and stated the Case, by preventing several Mistakes, and determining *wherein* the real Difference consisteth between the contending Parties; his way is, to confirm the Truth opposed to such a particular Error, by that which is owned on both sides for the Rule of Faith; then to produce corroborating Testimonies from the approved Catechisms and Confessions both of the Presbyterian and Independent Body, as of the General Assembly at *Westminster*, the *New England* Synod, and the Congregational Elders at the *Savoy*, besides those of such particular Writers as are by them generally esteemed most Orthodox; and lastly, to give the Ground of the Doctor's Mistake. This he hath done in about twenty several Points, with much plainness: and it cannot be

His Method in this Controversy.

made appear after all, that his Adverſaries have been able to ſay, that he hath in any of them miſrepreſented Dr. *Criſp*'s Opinions, or miſtaken his Senſe; there being no fairer Method than that which he hath choſen.

This Book was firſt publiſhed in *May*, 1692, with the Approbation of Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *How*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Showers*, and a dozen more of the Diſſenting Miniſters: And to the Second Edition of it, were added the Names of double the Number. After which came forth a Third Edition of the ſame, with other Names, and a large Poſtſcript for clearing ſundry Truths, added to it. But Dr. *Chauncy*, and others of that ſort, wrote againſt that Book in vindication of Dr. *Criſp*, denying Goſpel Threatnings with the reſt. To all this, the Reply of Mr. *Williams*, called, *A Defence of Goſpel Truth*, was, by the ableſt Judges, thought ſufficient. Notwithſtanding, Mr. *Mather*, another Independent Preacher, publiſhed a Sermon about *Juſtification*, wherein he aſſerted, That Believers were as righteous as Chriſt himſelf, that the Covenant of Grace was not conditional, with other dangerous Opinions of the like Stamp. Him alſo this Author anſwered, by a Book called, *Man made Righteous*; wherein he treated of the Goſpel Law, the mediating Suretyſhip of Chriſt, his imputed Righteouſneſs how conſiſtent with Faith and Repentance, as Conditions of Juſtification; ſincere perſevering Holineſs and Obedience,

as Conditions of conſummate Salvation, and this by the Goſpel Conſtitution. To this Book none replied.

There was alſo a Paper ſigned by Mr. *Griffith*, and ſeveral others of the eminent Independents, wherein they excepted againſt ſeveral Paſſages in *Goſpel Truth ſtated*, beſides ſome general Charges againſt the whole. Which Paper was examined by the Author, in his Poſtſcript to the Third Edition thereof, and all their Objections fully conſidered. But whether any manner of Anſwer was returned by them, to this Reply of his, I do not know; certainly it is, that they were hard put to it. Hence Mr. *Stephen Lob*, who long after Two Editions of this Book, had ſo acquitted it in print, as to adventure to tell the World, that there was no Difference between Mr. *Chauncy* and Mr. *Williams*, when afterwards, for certain Purpoſes, he turned an Objector againſt it, thought fit to wave all the former Exceptions of his Brethren, in that Paper contained, ſave one or two. So ſenſible was he, that the Author of *Goſpel Truth* had been too haſtily charged by them, and that they would never be able to make good their Objections: and therefore he thought it convenient and prudent, to drop them all but the firſt and the laſt, which he judged more defenſible than the reſt, as being general Charges, of not having always rightly ſtated Truth and Error, or rightly interpreted the Scriptures.

Mr. Lob *ſtarts a new Controverſy.*

Mr. *Lob* then, though no direct *Antinomian*, yet willing to uphold the Independent Party, endeavoured to ſave their Reputation, by ſtarting a new Controverſy about Commutation of Perſons, betwixt Chriſt and Believers. His pretence was, that Mr. *Williams* muſt deny this, which by all the Orthodox had been generally acknowledged, and hardly by any diſliked, but by the Socinians, and other Hereticks near a-kin to them; becauſe he had denied what *Criſp* called, a Change of *Perſon*, (not *Perſons*, in the Plural) that is, a Change of Condition and State between Chriſt and a Sinner; Chriſt thereby becoming as Sinful as we, and we as Righteous as he. And he alledged, that Dr. *Stilling fleet*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, had in his moſt learned and judicious *Diſcourſe, concerning the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction*, with *Grotius*, expreſly affirmed a Commutation of Perſons, and irrefragably proved it with the common Sentiment of Proteſtants.

Mr. Williams *writes to Biſhop* Stilling-fleet.

Upon which, a Letter was ſent by Mr. *Williams* to the Biſhop, deſiring his Judgment as to theſe three Queſtions; 1. What was his Senſe of Commutation of Perſons? 2. Whether the Author of *Goſpel truth ſtated*, was chargeable with Socinianiſm? and 3. Whether Dr. *Criſp*'s Senſe, concerning the *Change of Perſon*, or Perſons, were true or falſe? His Anſwer to which he therefore inſiſted on, becauſe his Lordſhip's Book was pleaded againſt him. After this,

Mr. *Lob*

Mr. *Lob* wrote to the Bishop, acquainting him, that there having been a Controversy among the Dissenters, about the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, some of the most eminent among them, such as Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *How*, &c. did in a Paper sent to some other Brethren for Reconciliation, mention his Lordship's Sense about the asserting a Commutation of Persons between Christ and Believers, as necessary to a due Explanation and Defence of the said Doctrine: and there being on the other hand, another Person of Esteem among them [meaning Mr. *Williams*] who was for casting off the Phrase, of a *Change of Person* between Christ and us; and for allowing only a Change of Persons in the Sense understood by his Lordship, namely, a Substitution in the room and place of another; his Lordship's Judgment being therefore referred unto, it would be in him a most Christian part, if he would condescend to give them his impartial Thoughts of this Point, *as being likely on both hands, to be soreceived, as to compose the Differences between them.*

The Bishop answers Mr. Williams.

But before this Letter came to the Bishop, he had already answered Mr. *Williams*, as to the three Questions proposed, and had with great Freedom and Impartiality, as well as with singular Candour and Judgment, after he had perused the Papers on both sides which came to his hands, given his Sense of the Things which are mentioned in both their Let-

Letters. This Letter of the Biſhop's, whereby Mr. *Williams* was fully vindicated, was printed for his Juſtification againſt Mr. *Lob*, in his *Anſwer to the Report*, &c. *which the united Miniſters appointed their Committee to draw up.* And Mr. *Lob* could not but declare himſelf, upon reading it, to be abundantly ſatisfied with what the Biſhop had writ in his Letter to Mr. *Williams*, about a Commutation of Perſons, the Guilt of Sin, and his Confutation of Dr. *Criſp*; only he wiſhed the Biſhop's Information had been more full. The Biſhop having anſwered Mr. *Lob*'s firſt Letter, and therein juſtified again Mr. *Williams* from the heavy Imputations againſt him, and expreſſed his ſincere and hearty Endeavours for preventing all needleſs, as well as dangerous Controverſies, among thoſe who did truly own the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction; Mr. *Lob* replied to him in a ſecond Letter, thanking him for the favour of his Anſwer, and informing him of an *Appeal* directed to his Lordſhip, which he was preparing for the Preſs.

An Appeal made to the late Biſhop of Worceſter *by Mr.* Lob.

The deſign of which Appeal was, that the Biſhop might have a fuller ſtate of Matters in controverſy among them, and ſo might be more able to put an End to their Differences, in a Point ſo perfectly ſtudied by him. The Biſhop was therefore made acquainted by Mr. *Lob*, that ſome Sheets of his were almoſt ready for the Preſs, giving the true Reaſons of the Diſſatisfaction of ſome among them with Mr. *Williams*,

liams, which were intended by way of Appeal, to be addreſſed to him; becauſe he had ſo truly ſtated their true Senſe about Chriſt's Satisfaction: withal begging to know his Lordſhip's pleaſure, whether he ſhould ſend it to him firſt in Manuſcript, or not till printed. The Biſhop anſwered Mr. *Lob*'s ſecond Letter without any delay, telling him, that he ſhould be glad to ſee the Papers he made mention of when they ſhould be printed, but that he would not have him give himſelf the trouble to ſend them before; for ſince they related to Matters of Fact, he could be no competent Judge of them. And as to the wiſhing he had received fuller Information of ſome Matters, the Biſhop told him, it was a thing out of his Power; and that he could only judge of what he had ſeen. At the ſame time the Biſhop juſtified Mr. *Williams* afreſh, as to his Orthodoxy in the controverted Points; and declaring himſelf very well pleaſed, to find that Mr. *Lob* did diſown Dr. *Criſp*'s Antinomian Principles; he gave both him and his Brethren to underſtand, that they would do themſelves a great deal of right, *to condemn the Propoſitions which they inſiſt upon.* As ſoon therefore as Mr. *Lob* had printed his Appeal, he ſent it to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to be by him conſidered, complementing him in the beginning of it with his Thanks, not only for what related to the Article of *Satisfaction*, but for his Confutation of Dr. *Criſp*, and intimating, that whereas the Biſhop had ſuſpected

cted a fondneſs for that Doctor's Notions lay at the bottom of all theſe heats, *the condemning the Propoſitions by his Brethren* (as was propounded by the Biſhop) *would evince the contrary*. But then this was deferred, till Satisfaction ſhould be given them, as to what Mr. *Williams* was charged with.

The Appeal conſidered by the Biſhop.

This printed Appeal of Mr. *Lob*, was conſidered by that great and learned Prelate, with an amazing exactneſs, as one who was a perfect Maſter of the Cauſe; but he lived not to finiſh his Anſwer to it, which he undertook; being invited both by the Appeal and by thoſe Letters, in order to compoſe thoſe Differences among the united and diſſenting Brethren which related to the Antinomian and Socinian Controverſies. However, he hath given the World a true State of both theſe Controverſies, in perfect agreement with the Principles advanced and defended by our Mr. *Bull*, as well as the true occaſion of the late Differences among the Diſſenters about theſe. Then he hath ſo laid open the Myſtery of *Antinomianiſm*, from the Writings of Dr. *Criſp*, as if he had ſtudied theſe for ſeveral Years together. Moreover he hath ſo explained the State of the Socinian Controverſy, with reſpect to the Differences at that time of the Diſſenters about it, for which he was appealed to; and hath ſo fully vindicated both Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Williams*, from the Charge of yielding too much to the Socinians; as that Reader muſt be very par-

partial indeed, who will not own that he hath done Juſtice to the Cauſe which was referred to him, and ſet Matters in a much clearer Light than ever they were before in. Now Mr. *Lob* had expreſſed a very great Earneſtneſs to have the Biſhop's Judgment, *becauſe* he ſaid, *ſome were labouring to make Chriſt's Sufferings ſo merely voluntary, as not to be Penal, or not properly Penal, but improperly and materially ſo, and our Sins as not to be the* impulſive meritorious *Cauſe of them.* The Biſhop therefore, in anſwer to him, hath treated diſtinctly and clearly about Chriſt's Sufferings, being a proper Puniſhment for our Sins, and about the Change of Perſons between Chriſt and us, and his ſuffering in our ſtead.

The ſame Queſtions that had been ſent to the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were likewiſe ſent Dr. *Jonathan Edwards*, the late learned and worthy Principal of *Jeſus College* in *Oxford*; becauſe Mr. *Lob* in his Remarks, pretended that Mr. *Williams*'s Opinion, concerning a Commutation of Perſons, was by him condemned, in his *Preſervative againſt Socinianiſm.* Whereupon Dr. *Edwards*, in a Letter to the ſaid Mr. *Williams*, juſtified him alſo againſt his Accuſers; fully acquitting him from giving any Countenance to the Errors of *Socinus*; and telling him, that he had very rightly, and in an Orthodox manner, ſtated the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction; and that as to the Doctrine of Dr. *Criſp*, and others of that Sect,

The Queſtions propoſed to Biſhop Stillingfleet, *were ſent to Dr.* Jonathan Edwards *likewiſe.*

Sect, concerning the Permutation of Perſon between Chriſt and the Sinner, he could not but look upon it to be, "not only falſe, abſurd "and impoſſible, but alſo an impious and blaſ- "phemous Opinion, as being highly diſhonou- "rable to our Saviour, repugnant to the Wiſ- "dom and Juſtice of God, and tending plain- "ly to ſubvert the whole Deſign of Chriſtia- "nity. So that it was impoſſible for any one to be more fully vindicated than Mr. *Williams* was, againſt the Charge of his Adverſaries, by theſe two eminent Divines of our Church; to whoſe Writings and Perſons, an Appeal had been laid in from his zealous Accuſer. The Biſhop abundantly acquitted him, and condemned the Proceedings againſt him as *hard* and *unreaſonable:* the good Doctor, who had made himſelf famous for writing againſt the Errors of *Socinus*, honourably diſcharged him in like manner from the Imputation of Socinianiſm, by declaring to him, *I mean no more than what you affirm.*

A further Account of the State of this Affair.

Thus the new Impreſſion of *Criſp*'s Sermons, with *twelve Names in great Letters appearing in the beginning of the Book*, to honour it, having awakened ſome of the more zealous among them, called the *United Brethren*, to conſider of ſome proper Expedient to obviate the Growth of thoſe Errors, the Revival whereof, they concluded would make their *Miniſtry uſeleſs*, and Unity impoſſible; This Controverſy, which had been before ſo fully and

and unanſwerably determined, by the excellent Writings of our Author, eſpecially in his Anſwer to *Gataker*, broke out afreſh with the utmoſt violence, but not in the Church. For the whole was carried on among the Diſſenters only, till this Reference was made, when they began to be weary of diſputing, as ſeeing no End thereof; and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* thereupon took the Cauſe into his own hands, and upon a full Examination of both Parties, ſetled the juſt Bounds between the Antinomian and Socinian Extremes, ſo far as theſe related to the Differences on foot among them; which was the occaſion of the *Second Part* of his *Diſcourſe concerning the Doctrine of Chriſt's Satisfaction*; which he left the Chriſtian Church for his Legacy of Peace. So Dr. *Criſp*'s Book was that which awakened this whole Controverſy, by its being publiſhed in ſuch a manner: and was the occaſion of Mr. *Williams*'s Examination of his Opinions, to which he was ſolicited and encouraged by ſeveral of his Brethren; whoſe Atteſtation to his Book, was not merely to the right ſtating of Truths and Errors therein, but as *a conſiderable Service to the Church of Chriſt*, and as *a Means for the reclaiming of thoſe, who have been miſled into ſuch dangerous Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing any that waver in any of theſe Truths.* But upon the coming forth of this Book it was obſerved, that ſuch a furious Zeal againſt the Author and his Book broke out, as had almoſt

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overſet the *united Brethren* with their *Union*. For in *October* following, a Paper was delivered in to the ſaid Brethren, ſubſcribed by ſix Diſſenting Miniſters, importing an high and heavy Charge againſt the Author and his Work: but the Objections were looked upon either as frivolous or groundleſs, and ſome of the Citations to be *quite contrary to the Letter of his Expreſſions*, pretended to be cited, and ſo not deſerving to be taken notice of.

Notwithſtanding which, Dr. *Chauncy*, one of the Subſcribers, in a Meeting of the united Miniſters, declared that he would break off from their Union, becauſe they had taken no cognizanze of the Paper of Objections againſt Mr. *Williams*'s Book; ſome conſiderable time after this, when other ways had been found unſucceſsful, a Perſon was appointed more narrowly to examine Mr. *Williams*'s Books, and to collect out of them what Errors he could diſcover; and accordingly another Paper of Objections was drawn up againſt him; and whereas in the former Paper there was not one Word tending to the Charge of Socinianiſm, upon this freſh Examination, that was now thought fit to be added to the weight of the other Exceptions againſt him, and was wiſely put into the hands of ſuch a Perſon to manage, *who could not be ſuſpected for Antinomianiſm*; he having not only refuſed to ſet his Name to the new Impreſſion of Dr. *Criſp*'s Sermons, becauſe it looked, as he ſaid, like giving

too much Countenance to the Notions in them, but had written alſo againſt ſome of them with great Indignation, and rebuked ſeverely, ſuch as ſeemed *to trim in favour of Antinomianiſm.* But theſe Papers were replied to by Mr. *Williams*; yet notwithſtanding all he could ſay, or write for himſelf, the Charge of Socinianiſm was carried on againſt him with no ſmall vehemence. He ſolemnly proteſted, *"That he owned Chriſt's *Eternal Generation* as the Son of God, and of *one Eſſence* with the Father; that he believed the "Doctrine of Satisfaction by the Sufferings of "Chriſt *in our ſtead*, and that his Sufferings "were *Puniſhments ſatisfactory* to Divine Juſtice for *our* Sins; that Chriſt was a *proper* "*Sacrifice*, and himſelf the *Prieſt*, that offered "it upon Earth; that his Obedience is properly meritorious of all our ſaving Benefits, "and himſelf a proper Ἀντίλυτρον in his "Death. All this was not ſufficient to clear him: it was urged, he uſed ſome Phraſes and Expreſſions as the Socinians did, and that perhaps he might be a Socinian and not know it, and more to the ſame purpoſe. But all the Objections of this nature, are demonſtratively anſwered by that moſt learned Prelate, to whom the Matter was on both ſides referred.

* *Mr.* Williams's *Anſwer to Mr.* H's *Letter*, p. 7.

How this Controverſy was compoſed.

When Mr. *Lob* and his Brethren now found they could not gain their Point, but that his Party became ſuſpected of Dr. *Criſp*'s Errors, by that time much exploded through the prevailing of the oppoſite Truths; they thought fit to draw up a ſort of Confeſſion, wherein they cleared themſelves of the moſt dangerous of *Criſp*'s Opinions, according to the repeated Advice of the late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, though not ſo fully and clearly as he had propoſed: And Mr. *Lob* being now better reconciled, deſired Mr. *Williams* to put the beſt Senſe on that Confeſſion, that ſo a period might be ſet to theſe Debates; Mr. *Williams* readily conſented, and wrote thereupon, and printed a few Sheets, called, *An End of Diſcord*, wherein he ſtated the Orthodox, as alſo the Socinian and Antinomian Notions, as to Chriſt's Satisfaction; and repreſented the Confeſſion of thoſe more ſober Independents as Orthodox, as their Words with the moſt charitable Conſtruction could bear. Thus ended then this Controverſy among the Diſſenters.

The Succeſs that followed hereupon.

The Number of Antinomians among the Diſſenters, were ſo reduced at length by the Methods which had been taken, that I am creditably informed by a conſiderable Man, who cannot but know the State of this Affair, that there are not now left above three or four Preachers of that ſort, (at leaſt known to him) and thoſe of no Eſteem. So that Men, he ſaith,

faith, can without Clamour now publiſh the Truth: yea, and moſt of the Independents and Anabaptiſts in this City, eſpecially the laſt, do preach as I am informed againſt Antinomianiſm. Which great Change for the better, is to be aſcribed in a great meaſure under God, to the indefatigable and zealous Pains of Dr. *Williams*, for promoting the Truths of the Goſpel, concerning *Chriſt's Satisfaction* and our *Juſtification*, according as they are both moſt ſolidly ſtated and explained, firſt by our excellent *Author, and then by Biſhop *Stillingfleet*; not without a particular reſpect to the true Senſe and falſe Notion of Commutation of Perſons, which was the Cauſe of ſo great Diſcord. As he hath been among the Diſſenters, an Inſtrument for putting a ſtop to thoſe pernicious Errors, and as his Conviction that the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity were ſtruck at by his Oppoſers, together with the Aptitude of an Evangelical Miniſtry, for promoting practical Holineſs; which appear to have been the Motives principally inclining him to contend with a ſtrong Party, who would leave nothing unattempted to cruſh him if poſſible; his Name I think ought to be mentioned with reſpect, and this ſhort Account of the Controverſy, wherein he was engaged for many Years, is but a piece of Juſtice that is due to him, for the good Service he hath done in the Cauſe of Truth. It is

* Examen Cenſuræ, Reſp. ad Animad. xi. Apol. Sect. vi.

almoſt incredible how much he was a Sufferer, *in* and *for* the Defence of it, from ſome what were too apt to *act their Principles* againſt ſuch as oppoſed them. But he *had counted the Coſt*, as he writeth in a Letter to me, *even though his Life had been ſacrificed*. And indeed his good Name, which to many is more pretious than Life it ſelf, was attacked hereupon in the moſt deſperate manner; though it did but all tend to his fuller Juſtification, before all good Men, and his greater Triumph over his Adverſaries. For after about eight Weeks ſpent in an Inquiry into his Life by a Committee of the united Miniſters, which received all manner of Complaints and Accuſations againſt him, it was declared at a general Meeting, as their *unanimous Opinion*, and repeated and agreed to in three ſeveral Meetings ſucceſſively, that he was **intirely clear and innocent of all that was laid to his Charge*. Thus both his *Book* and his *Perſon* were vindicated in the ampleſt Form, after the ſtricteſt Examination that could be made; and his and the Truth's Adverſaries put to ſilence. But to return to Mr. *Bull*.

XLIX. Upon the Publication of the *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, Mr. *Bull*'s Reputation, which was before confined to the narrow bounds of his own Neighbourhood, began to extend it ſelf among the Learned, not only in this Kingdom, but

Mr. Bull *made Prebendary of* Gloceſter *by the Earl of* Nottingham.

* *Poſtſcript to Goſpel Truth*, p. 301, *to* 308.

in

in foreign Parts. Some Prejudices indeed at firſt were raiſed againſt him by his Adverſaries, who attacked him with great vehemency, and ſome great Men were made to believe, that through want of Orthodoxy, he was not fit to be preferred. But when he made his Anſwers to thoſe Objections, which were preſt upon him; and publiſhed his *Examen Cenſuræ*, and his Apology for himſelf, and the Treatiſe he had wrote; the World quickly ſaw how little he deſerved the Calumnies which were thrown upon him, and he began to ſhine the brighter for having been under ſome Eccliſe. And this was farther confirmed, by thoſe who were in the Sentiments of his Adverſaries, for they were dead themſelves, who were ſilenced by what he offered in his own Defence, and never pretended to make any Reply.

The knowledge of his Character, thus cleared by his own nervous Pen, quickly reached the then Lord Chancellor, who having been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1673, was ſhortly after that advanced to the degree of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Finch* of *Daventry*, and in 1675 was made Lord High Chancellor of *England*; and farther in teſtimony of his many faithful Services, which his Lordſhip had rendred the Crown, he was in 1681 created Earl of *Nottingham*. His Lordſhip was juſtly eſteemed the great Oracle of the Law in his time, and ſo perfect a Maſter in the Art of Speaking, that he paſſed for

the Engliſh *Cicero*; yet his great Underſtanding, his Eloquent Tongue, and his Titles of Honour, did not give his Name ſo laſting a Luſtre, as that Piety and Virtue wherewith he adorned his high Station, which is but too often ſtarved in ſo rich a Soil, and thriveth beſt in a private Life.

The Earl of Nottingham's Method of beſtowing his Preferments.

Among the many very commendable Qualities of this great Man, his Zeal for the Welfare of the Church of *England*, was not the leaſt conſpicuous; which particularly ſhewed it ſelf, in the care he took in diſpoſing of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which were in the Gift of the Seal. He judged rightly, in looking upon that Privilege as a Truſt for the good of the Church of God, of which he was to give a ſtrict Account; and therefore being ſenſible that the ſeveral Duties of his great Poſt, as firſt Miniſter of State, as Lord Chancellor, and as Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, would not allow his Lordſhip time and leiſure to make that Enquiry which was neceſſary to know the Characters of ſuch as were Candidates for Preferment, he devolved this particular Province upon his Chaplain, whoſe Conſcience he charged with an impartial Scrutiny in this Matter; adding withal, that he would prefer none but thoſe who came recommended from him, and that if he led him wrong the blame ſhould fall upon his own Soul.

It

It is true that this was a great Teſtimony of my Lord's intire Confidence, in the Uprightneſs as well as the Capacity of his Chaplain; but the World will quickly be ſatisfied with what Caution and Judgment his Lordſhip took his Meaſures, when they ſhall know, that his then Chaplain was Dr. *Sharp*, the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of *York*, who fills one of the Archi-Epiſcopal Thrones of the Church of *England*, with that univerſal Applauſe, which is due to his Grace's diſtinguiſhing Merit; whoſe Elevation hath not deprived him of his Humility, but he exerciſeth the ſame Affability and Courteſy towards all Men, which he practiſed in a lower Sphere. And that Learning and Piety, that Integrity and Zeal for the Glory of God, which influence his Grace in the Government of his Dioceſs and of his Province, were peculiarly ſerviceable to the Earl of *Nottingham*, in the Charge his Lordſhip laid upon him with ſo much Solemnity. From a Lord Chancellor ſo well diſpoſed to ſecure the Welfare of the Church, by preferring Men of unblemiſhed Characters, and who was bleſt with a Chaplain, faithful and diſcerning to diſtinguiſh them, Mr. *Bull* received a Prebend in the Church of *Gloceſter*, in which he was inſtalled the 9th of *Octob.* 1678. And as a Teſtimony of his Gratitude, he deſigned a publick Acknowledgment of his Lordſhip's Favour, in dedicating to him, his *Fidei Nicenæ Defenſio*, which was the next Book he publiſhed; but

The preſent Archbiſhop of York *then his Chaplain.*

before it appeared this great Man died, in whom the Church loſt a faithful and zealous Friend, and Learning and Piety a generous and conſtant Patron.

L. In the Year 1680, Mr. *Bull* finiſhed his *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*, whereof he had given an hint five Years before in his *Apology*; which excited the Curioſity of ſeveral learned Men, to deſire that he would put his laſt hand, to a Work ſo very uſeful and neceſſary, as this did appear to them. For having been obliged to clear himſelf from the Charge of Socinianiſm, which had been brought againſt him without any ground to ſupport it: he was under a ſort of neceſſity of telling, "how he "had been for ſome time before, drawing up "certain *Hiſtorico-Eccleſiaſtical Theſes*, con-"cerning the *Godhead* of the *Son*, wherein he "truſted, that he had plainly demonſtrated "both the *Conſubſtantiality* and the *Coeternity* "of the Son of God, from the Conſent of the "ancient Doctors of the Church, who lived "before the Council of *Nice*, with the Ni-"cene Fathers, by a Tradition derived from "the very Apoſtolical Age it ſelf.

Mr. Bull *finiſhes his Defence of the* Nicene *Faith.*

Now about the ſame Time, and for ſome Years before, there were ſeveral Arian and Socinian Pieces publiſhed in *Holland*, and diſperſed in *England*, written by ſome learned Men, that were fled thither out of *Pruſſia* and *Poland*, who had fallen into one of thoſe Schemes,

Arian and Socinian Writers in Holland, *ſpread their Hereſies here.*

Schemes, and presumed themselves able to maintain one and the other of them, against the received Catholick Doctrine. And though the Socinians indeed were generally for having the Controversy decided by Scripture and Reason only, without regarding the Testimony of the most ancient Christian Writers; yet the Arians were herein of another Mind; and had some Disputations with the Socinians in *Holland* upon their singular Tenets, condemning them, for condemning the use of the Primitive Fathers; and making a very high boast of *these*, as if almost all of them, who lived before the first Council of *Nice*, were of their Party and Sentiment.

A Fault observed in some Learned Orthodox Writers, and the Reasonableness of this Treatise.

Some learned Men also, who had undertaken to defend the Doctrine of the Trinity, while they owned the Meaning of the Primitive Fathers, to be generally most sound and orthodox as to this Point, but confessed their Expressions not to be so very cautious and exact before, as after the said Council, did give an Occasion thence for the Adversaries to triumph, as if the Cause were therefore presently their own. So that nothing in the World could be more seasonable at this time, than such a Treatise, to put some Check to the exceeding Confidence of some certain Writers, and to vindicate the ancient Truths of Christianity so violently attacked. Upon these Considerations Mr. *Bull* thought, that he could not better employ his Labour, especially at his leisure Hours,

Hours, than in this moſt important Work for the Service of the Church: But he complained, that both through the ill State of his Health, and through the great variety of other Cares and Buſineſs lying upon his hands, he had not been able to perfect it for the Preſs as he had deſigned, when he printed his Reply to Dr. *Tully*; neither could he for ſome Years afterwards, meeting with continual Obſtacles and Impediments.

How the Treatiſe, when fitted for the Preſs, was in danger of being utterly ſtifled.

But his Friends not failing to challenge the Performance of what he had now ſo publickly mentioned, and repreſenting to him withal, what danger there was in letting ſome Books of *Sandius*, which did openly defend the *Arian* to be the true Catholick Doctrine, and that by the Tradition of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, paſs among young Students of Divinity without a proper Antidote; Mr. *Bull* with great Earneſtneſs reſumed the Work, read over all thoſe Fathers again, and finiſhed it as now it is. After which he offered the Copy to a Bookſeller, and he refuſing it, to another, and after him to a third; and none being found willing to undertake the Impreſſion, or to venture the Charge of it; he brought it home, and laid the thoughts of printing it wholly aſide. For being but in low Circumſtances, and having a large Family of Children to ſupport, it was not poſſible for him to furniſh out the Expence himſelf for printing, as he was inclinable enough to have done had

he

he been able. And so this excellent Book might have lain buried for ever, and never so much as once been heard of after this, had not a certain worthy Friend of the Author's, some few Years after, advised him to put his neglected Copy into the hands of Dr. *Jane*, the *Regius* Professor then of Divinity, in the University of *Oxford*, and to submit the same to his Censure and Disposal.

By what means it came to be encouraged by Bishop Fell.

Accordingly Mr. *Bull* took his Papers, he says, as it were *out of the Grave*, and committed them to the *Professor* to do with them as he should think fit. Who having carefully read them over, was pleased, not only to declare his Approbation of them, for the sake of the great Learning therein contained, but also effectually to recommend this Work, which had afforded him so much Satisfaction, to the Favour and Patronage of that great promoter of Learning and Piety, Bishop *Fell*. This great and good Prelate, being not a little glad to hear that the Holy Catholick Faith, in the most fundamental Point of it, was so learnedly defended against some modern Pretenders to Antiquity, was presently for encouraging the printing of it, for a general Benefit; nor had he need of Solicitation, to print a Book of this nature at his own Expence, which so highly tended as he was fully perswaded, to vindicate the Honour of our Blessed Lord, and the Veracity of his faithful Witnesses in the earliest Ages of Christianity.

Thus

And printed at the Theatre in Oxford.

Thus in the Year 1685, there was published from the Theatre in *Oxford*, the Biſhop thereof taking upon him the Charge of the Impreſſion, this moſt noble Defence of the *Nicene Faith*, out of the Writings of the Catholick Doctors, who flouriſhed within the three firſt Centuries of the Chriſtian Church: Wherein alſo the *Conſtantinopolitan Confeſſion*, concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*, is incidentally confirmed by the Teſtimonies likewiſe of the Ancients. For whereas in the ancient Creeds and Formularies of Faith, the Deity of the *Son* is principally and more largely declared, but that of the *Holy Ghoſt* is for the moſt part only hinted at, and in a few Words: The learned Author made it his chief Care in this Treatiſe, to defend *that* rather than *this*; as conſidering, that if he could beget and confirm in his Readers, the true Faith concerning the *Son of God*, they might with eaſe then be brought to receive and continue in a right Confeſſion, concerning the *Spirit of God*.

LI.

What Petavius *had written on this Subject both ſuſpected by* Catholicks, *and challenged by* Arians.

The learned *Petavius* had been at prodigious pains indeed, in collecting all that the Chriſtian Writers have ſaid, both before and after that Council, upon this Subject: But after all, this moſt laborious Work of his was ſo far from giving Satisfaction, or advancing much the Cauſe for which he undertook to write; as on the contrary, ſome even ſuſpected the Author to be himſelf all the while no better

bettet than a Covert Arian, and to have written, even on purpoſe to betray the Cauſe for which he appeared, than which nothing can be more falſe: As any one may ſoon convince himſelf, that will be but at the pains to examine, what he hath written: Wherefore the great Reviver of Arianiſm in the laſt Age, is by our Author moſt deſervedly exploded, for his moſt confident Aſſertion, that it was impoſſible but *Petavius*, muſt have been firmly in himſelf perſwaded, that the Trinity of the *Arians*, and not that of the *Homoouſians*, was an Article of the Catholick Faith: Notwithſtanding on a double Account he was carried to declare himſelf, though againſt his Mind, for the *Homoouſians* rather than for the *Arians*; namely, that he might both eſcape all thoſe Miſchiefs and Perſecutions, which he had reaſon to fear from the Church of *Rome*, in caſe it could have been proved againſt him, that he had revolted from her Faith, to embrace Arianiſm; and that alſo the Arians might be able thence to bring a better Proof of their Doctrine from a profeſſed Adverſary, and to build even upon his Ground their own Superſtructure; as that Writer had endeavoured to do in his much boaſted Book of Church Hiſtory; which by this very learned Defence of the Faith, as it was in the Council of *Nice* declared and eſtabliſhed, is moſt ſubſtantially confuted.

For

How far vindicated herein againſt Sandius, *by Mr.* Bull.

For though *Petavius* was a Member of that Society, which is moſt of all hated among us, and of whom nothing almoſt can be ſaid ſo black, which will not preſently be believed by vaſt Numbers; yet Mr. *Bull* was not for taking any advantage of this popular Odium, or for charging a Perſon of his great Character in the learned World, with the moſt flagitious Treachery, either from general Prejudices againſt the Order whereof he was a Member, or from particular Conjectures about his Method of managing this Controverſy. On the contrary, he condemned *Sandius* for his Raſhneſs in paſſing ſo ſevere a Cenſure, thinking his Suſpicion groundleſs altogether, and that it could proceed from nothing but an extreme Partiality for his own Sect.

His Conjecture, why Petavius *leſſened the Authority of the Antenicene Fathers.*

If any Conjecture may be allowed of in ſuch a Caſe, there is I think none more probable, than that which he hath advanced concerning this learned Jeſuite; and this he did after a nice and thorough Examination of his Work: It is, That *Petavius* muſt have conſulted in it the Cauſe of the Pope, rather than of *Arius*; and the Support of the preſent Church of *Rome*, than of any one Sect: For ſuppoſing that the Catholick Writers of the three firſt Centuries were almoſt all of the ſame Opinion, which was afterwards condemned in *Arius* for Hereſie, by the Council of *Nice*; or that they writ after ſuch a manner, as they might at leaſt be thought to hold the ſame Opinion which he did,

did, by their looſe way of expreſſing themſelves: It will thence eaſily follow, as he hath truly * obſerved, that there is very little regard to be had to the Fathers of the three firſt Ages, to whom the Reformed Catholicks generally do appeal, if ſo be that the chief Articles of the Chriſtian Faith were not yet ſufficiently manifeſted: And alſo, that general Councils have a Power of making new Articles of Faith, or of *manifeſting* and declaring them, as that Writer would rather have it worded; and conſequently that all the Additions which have been tacked to the Primitive Faith, by the pretended general Council of *Trent*, ought to be received without examining. Now *Petavius*, as well as ſome other great Men of his Order, may be ſuſpected by the Proteſtants, as having had ſome ſuch Biaſs as this in their Writings, without much breach of Charity. Mr. *Bull* however, in oppoſing him, was very tender as to this Charge againſt him, not determining any thing in the matter, but leaving it to be decided by the Searcher of all Hearts; and is not unwilling to think, that poſſibly he might have no Deſign, by his writing with ſo little reſpect for the Authority of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, to promote the Intereſt either of Arianiſm or Popery; but that it proceeded purely from a certain Boldneſs and Raſhneſs in Cenſuring the

* Procem. §. 8.

Anci-

Ancients, which was familiar to him. But howſoever this might be, moſt certain it is, that the modern *Arians* found themſelves not a little gratified by his Labours; and the Orthodox on the other hand complained, that he had wronged both the *Nicene* and *Ante-Nicene* Fathers.

LII. Now the very ſame thing which was charged upon *Petavius* a Popiſh, was unhappily likewiſe charged upon *Curcellæus* a Proteſtant Writer: And it cannot be denied, but that the *Arians* made their Advantage of both theſe learned Authors, and endeavoured to perſwade the World, that they were really of their ſide; howſoever, for prudential Reaſons, they might think fit to diſguiſe a little their own Sentiments. His Preface to the Works of *Epiſcopius*, made him firſt to be ſuſpected, and *Mareſius*, an hot Calviniſt, and one who had alſo a perſonal Pique againſt him, took thence occaſion of accuſing him publickly of Hereſy in the Points of the Trinity and Incarnation. It is true, that *Curcellæus* * complained, that *Mareſius* had injured him in a very unchriſtian Manner, and that his Accuſation of him was utterly falſe and ungrounded: And *Mareſius*, in his *Anti-Tirinus*, having frequently called him, an *Anti-Trinitarian*, he made an-

How Petavius *was ſucceeded in this Controverſy by* Curcellæus.

* Stephani Curcellæi Quaternio Diſſertationum Theologicarum adverſus Samuelem Mareſium, Opus poſthumum. *Amſtel.* 1689.

ſwer, that he was very far from deſerving that Name, for as much as he could be no Antitrinitarian, or Enemy of the Bleſſed Trinity, who acknowledged the Doctrine thereof, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures. He challenged his Adverſary to ſhew, that he had any ways deviated from the Faith which was delivered from the Apoſtles of Chriſt, or even from the Explication thereof, by the moſt ancient and approved Writers of the Church: Loudly aſſerting, that the orthodox Doctrine concerning Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, was by him believed and maintained, according as it was revealed to the Church; and that it was a groſs Falſehood and Injuſtice therefore to pretend, that he was an Adverſary to it, or had expreſſed any manner of diſlike to it by Word or Writing. He pleaded moreover his Baptiſm in the Common and Catholick Form with all Chriſtians, and his ſolemn Profeſſion when grown up with the Church univerſal "That "he believed in One God, the *Father Almigh-* "*ty*, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and "in his *only begotten Son*, Jeſus Chriſt, in "whom, beſides the Human Nature, there "was alſo the Divine Nature, which not on- "ly exiſted before his Birth of the *Virgin Ma-* "*ry*, but even from Eternity; and in the Ho- "ly Ghoſt, who proceedeth from the Father, "and is ſent by the Son.

This is the Summary which he hath given us of his Belief of the Holy Trinity, and which he

explaineth and defendeth by Arguments and Teſtimonies from Antiquity; to which he was not ſuch a Stranger as his Maſter *Epiſcopius*, having taken a great deal of pains to ſift this Matter as well as he could, and to run it up to the head. For though he every where declareth himſelf for ſticking cloſely to none but the *Scripture Account* of this Article, and is for diſcarding thence the Uſe of Scholaſtical Terms in this whole Controverſy; he is nevertheleſs buſied much to prove, that his Expoſition thereof is conformable to that of the Ancients, and no ways diſagreeable to the true Senſe of thoſe very Terms, concerning the Uſe whereof he had ſome Scruples upon him.

Thus if you take his own Account, there would be no Man more Orthodox and Catholick than he is in the Doctrine of the Trinity, as alſo in that of the Incarnation of Chriſt. And he inſiſted, that both from the *Pulpit* and from the *Chair*, he had always taught and vindicated that Faith, into which he had been baptized, and which he had publickly profeſſed in the Congregation, according to the Form generally received; And did even teach and vindicate the ſame at that very time, when the Charge of *Anti-trinitarianiſm* was brought againſt him. Yea, he expreſſed ſo great a Zeal for the Orthodox Doctrine in this great Fundamental, as he would ſeem forward to ſeal the Truth thereof, even with his Blood;

if,

if, as he said, *God should vouchsafe him this Honour*. Notwithstanding all this, it is notoriously known, and that from his own very Apology, that he was no less an Enemy to the first Council of *Nice* than his Master before him, if not more than he; that he was no Friend at all to the Use of the Word *Trinity*; that he so explained himself concerning that Mystery, as to assert no more than a *Specifical Unity* in the Divine Persons; that he defended the Cause of *Valentinus Gentilis*, beheaded at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, for Tritheism, maintaining his Doctrine to have been the same with that of the Primitive Fathers; particularly of *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Athenagoras*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*; that he impeached the Common (which he called the Modern and Scholastical) Doctrine of the Trinity, for approaching so very near Sabellianism, as hardly to be distinguished from it, and charged it to be a thousand Years younger than that which was taught by Christ, and his Apostles; that he exploded the Notion of *Consubstantiality*, in the Sense in which it is now generally taken, when applied to the Father and Son, that he was very much afraid to have his Mind perplexed with the *divine Relations*, or with the manner of *Generation* and *Procession* in the Deity, or with Modes of *Subsistence* and *Personalities*, or with *mutual Consciousness*, and the like; and therefore was for discarding at once, all such Terms

and Phraſes as are not *expreſly legitimated* by the ſacred Writers; that he fully believed the Godhead of the Father to be more excellent than that of the Son, or of the Holy Ghoſt, even ſo far as to look upon this Superiority as a thing unqueſtionable, and to appeal to the conſentient Teſtimony of the Primitive Church for evidence; and laſtly, that he took care to recommend *Petavius*, and the Author of *Irenicum Irenicorum*, a learned Phyſician of *Dantzick*, whom I ſhall have an occaſion ſeveral times hereafter to mention, to the peruſal of his Readers, for the ſake of that Collection of Teſtimonies which is to be found in them, as wherein they might eaſily find *an Account of the Primitive Faith*, concerning theſe great Articles.

The different Deſigns of Petavius *and* Curcellæus.

The Deſign of *Curcellæus* was evidently different from that of *Petavius*, the one was to reconcile the Differences about the Myſteries of our Religion, among the ſeveral ſorts of Chriſtians; the other was not to reconcile them, but to put an End to the Controverſie a ſhorter way, by endeavouring to ſhew the neceſſity of an abſolute Submiſſion to Authority, for the determining Articles of Faith: The one was to make the Scriptures the ſole Rule and Standard for Eccleſiaſtical Communion in this great Point; the other was to make the preſent Church of *Rome* the ſole Arbiter and Judge in this Cauſe, and her Decrees deciſive, how little ſoever agreeing with the Lan-

guage

guage of Antiquity, and of the ſacred Writers themſelves. But Mr. *Bull* was not ſatisfied at all with the Deſign either of the one or of the other; for as much as he apprehended from them both the like dangerous Conſequences, and the ſame Uſe to be made by the Enemies of the Catholick Faith. He thought *Epiſcopius* and *Curcellæus* attributed too little, and *Petavius*, and others of his Church too much, to the Power and Authority of Eccleſiaſtical Synods, for the declaring of Articles of Faith.

LIII. *A Miſtake of* Boſſuet, *Biſhop of* Meaux, *concerning Mr.* Bull.

And it is hence plain, that the late Biſhop of *Meaux*, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, and who is known to have had a particular Eſteem for our Author, is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to hold the *Infallibility* of this Council of *Nice*; for had the Biſhop but proved this once, all that Mr. *Bull* had written in defence of the Faith there eſtabliſhed, would have been altogether ſuperfluous.

No Argument for the Infallibility *of General Councils, from the manner of his vindicating that of* Nice.

He had, it is true, a very great Regard for Councils truly General, and in particular, for the *Nicene* and the *Conſtantinopolitan*, not ſeeing any ſufficient Reaſon to object againſt their Teſtimony: Whence, allowing them to be competent Witneſſes of the Faith and Practice of the Church at that time, as in the ſeveral Parts of it acknowledged and received, he concluded, that the ſolemn Atteſtation of above three hundred Witneſſes at once, muſt needs

be more authoritative, than the ſingle Aſſeveration of here and there one occaſionally, and perhaps not accurately expreſſing himſelf. For having in his *Proœmium* taken notice, that the Matter treated of in this firſt general Council, was the capital Article of the whole Chriſtian Religion; namely, the Divinity of our Saviour's Perſon, as whether he were truly God, or only a Creature; he addeth, "If in a "Queſtion of ſo vaſt importance as this, we "can imagine, that all the Governours of the "Church could fall into Errour ſo prodigi-"ouſly, and deceive the People under them, "how ſhall we be able to vindicate the Vera-"city of our bleſſed Lord, promiſing to be "with his Apoſtles, and in them with their "Succeſſors to the End of the World? A "Promiſe which could not be true, ſeeing the "Apoſtles were not to live ſo long, unleſs "their Succeſſors be here comprehended in "the Perſons of the Apoſtles themſelves. Which he afterwards confirmeth, by a Paſſage out of *Socrates* * concerning ſome of the devout Fathers of this Council, which ſaith, that *even the unlearned* [Ἰδιῶται] *of the Council were illuminated by God, and the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo as they could not depart from the Truth.* Whereupon the late Biſhop of *Meaux* † reciting this and the former Paſſage, doth

* Lib. i. cap. 9. † Hiſtoire des Variations des Egliſes Proteſtantes. Liv. xv. §. ciii. Tom. ii. p. 593, 594.

tri-

triumph over his Adverſary not a little, whom he ſendeth to be inſtructed by our Author, in the Infallibility of the Council of *Nice*, in order to bring in that of *Trent*. For the Biſhop concluding it to be our Author's Opinion, that it was impoſſible for the Fathers of that Council to fall into Error, becauſe they were enlightned with the Light of God's Spirit; without attending as he ought to what went before, and to what followeth afterwards, which might have undeceived him, he inferreth, "Hence "he [Mr. *Bull*] ſhews at once the Infallibili-"ty of general Councils, both by Scripture "and by the Tradition of the ancient Church: "God bleſs (continueth he) the learned *Bull*; "and reward him for this ſincere Confeſſion, "as alſo for the Zeal, which he hath made "appear in defending the Godhead of Jeſus "Chriſt: May he be delivered from thoſe "Prejudices which hinder him from opening "his Eyes to the Lights of the Catholick "Church, and to the neceſſary Conſequences "of the Truth by him confeſſed. Thus far the Biſhop.

A plain Account of the Truth of this matter, and the Grounds for undertaking this Vindication.

Now the plain Truth of the Matter is no more than this, the aforementioned Author of the *Irenicum Irenicorum*, had the confidence to call the *Nicene* Fathers, *Novæ fidei conditores*, and by ſuch other Names; and by a great number of Paſſages collected out of the more ancient Fathers, had undertaken to make good his Charge; *Curcellæus* writing his *Quaternio* im-

mediately after him, had therein declared that theſe Teſtimonies did ſeem to him unanſwerable, as to the Preheminence at leaſt of the Father above the Son; *Sandius* had gone yet much farther, labouring to heap up all the Scandal that was poſſible againſt this Council; and many others of inferior Name, borrowing their Weapons from theſe Authors, had been pelting at it as hard as they could: All which our Mr. *Bull* knew not how to digeſt, he ſaith, but as often as he conſidered the incredibility that ſuch a Number of the Paſtors of this Church, met together from all the Parts of the World, where Chriſtianity was planted, could in a Matter of the *greateſt moment*, even in the very *foundation* it ſelf of Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip, be either deceived or deceivers; or that Chriſt ſhould not ſo far remember his Promiſe, as by his Spirit to abide with the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to the End of the World, ſo as to guard them at leaſt from laying another Foundation, than what he himſelf had laid; But reflecting hereupon, could not forbear expreſſing a ſort of Horror and Indignation, for *their ſtupendous Ignorance, or rather impious Madneſs, who were not afraid furiouſly to rail at thoſe venerable Fathers in publick, as if they had either* maliciouſly *or* ignorantly *corrupted the Catholick Doctrine concerning* Chriſt, *which was taught by the Apoſtles, and conſtantly profeſſed in the Church for three Centuries, and had impoſed a new Faith*

upon

upon the Chriſtian World. This was ſo very ſhocking to all pious Ears, in the Opinion of Mr. *Bull*, that he could not bear the thoughts of it with any patience; and thence he falleth ſometimes into Expreſſions, that to ſome will ſeem to have more of fire in them than they ought to have, when he is ſpeaking of theſe Men, whom he conſidereth as the profeſſed Adverſaries to the Dignity and Prerogative of our Saviour, and are treated accordingly by him every where as ſuch. And whereas *Sabinus* the *Macedonian*, had anciently attacked the Credit of this Council, by diſparaging the Fathers that ſate in it, for a Company of rude and illiterate Perſons, who underſtood not what they came thither about; though by the Account which *Euſebius* hath given, we may be certain, there were not wanting in it Men of Senſe and Capacity; Mr. *Bull* thought it not amiſs to anſwer *Sabinus* and his Followers, in the very Words which the Hiſtorian *Socrates* had done before; thereby implying, that notwithſtanding they might be ſimple and plain Perſons, without much Learning, yet they were never the worſe Witneſſes for that, and eſpecially ſince it was piouſly credible, that God would alſo readily aſſiſt their honeſt Endeavours after the Truth, and preſerve them by his Grace from falling into any pernicious Miſtake, wherein the whole Church would neceſſarily be involved.

Neither

Full Satisfaction given herein to the Bishop of Meaux.

Neither did Mr. *Bull* say, that he was of the Opinion of *Socrates*, but only did declare what he took to be his meaning, which yet doth not come up at all to that of the Bishop of *Meaux*: And having told this, Mr. *Bull* then concludeth; "but if any be not willing to admit "this Hypothesis, [of the illuminating Grace "of the Holy Spirit, assisting a Council of "Bishops that is *truly universal* in the *necessa-* "*ry* Articles of Faith] the Argument of *So-* "*crates* may be put into this Form following; "suppose the *Nicene* Fathers to have been ne- "ver so ignorant and unlearned, yet the great- "est part of them were pious Men: And it "is unreasonable to believe, that so many ho- "ly and approved Men, being met together "out of all parts of the Christian World, "could wickedly conspire together to innovate "the publickly received Faith, in the very "principal Article of Christianity; it being "not possible to suppose, that the simplest "there could be so very ignorant, as not to "understand the very first Rudiments concern- "ing the Holy Trinity, which were wont to "be delivered to the very Catechumens, or "not to know what they themselves had re- "ceived concerning it from their Predeces- "sors. Since how defective soever they might be in any other part of Knowledge, he concluded it impossible for them to be uninstructed in the first and most fundamental Doctrine of their Religion. This was then, and continued

tinued afterwards, to be the true Senſe of our Author, concerning *General Councils*, and in particular concerning this of *Nice*: Let the Advocates of the Church of *Rome* make the beſt of it they can. And if this be not thought a ſufficient Vindication, taken from the very Book it ſelf by the Biſhop appealed to, let the Reader farther conſider, that it is the whole Scope of his moſt learned Defence of the firſt general Council, to ſhew, that the Fathers thereof did not Err, in the Determination of the Article by them examined; both becauſe this their Determination was ſupported by the more ancient Teſtimonies of their Predeceſſors, and becauſe it was morally impoſſible for them, under their Circumſtances, to have erred therein; and much leſs for them to have conſpired amongſt themſelves, to change and new model the Faith, which had been univerſally received in all the Churches. All which would have been perfectly needleſs, had he deſigned to prove the Infallibility of this Council; for this once proved, all the reſt muſt have been a ſuperfluous Labour, and conſequently his whole Book would have been to no purpoſe. Nay, even ſuppoſing that he was fully of the Opinion, that there is an infallible Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, which attendeth every Council that is truly General, ſo as to keep them from erring in Matters of Faith, yet could he not for this be ever the nearer to the Church of *Rome*, or to the Communion

munion of the *Gallican* Biſhop, as the ſame is at preſent limited by the Council of *Trent*; ſince in the very ſame Premonition he afterwards ſaith expreſly, **That the* Trent-Convention *is to be called by any other Name, rather than by that of a* General Council; and greatly complaineth of ſuch *Romiſh* Writers and Advocates for the Decrees thereof, as make no Conſcience of building up thereby their Pſeudo-Catholick Faith, upon the Ruins of the truly Catholick Faith. Nothing in the World can be more expreſs than this, eſpecially all things being laid together. But if to any one this be not yet ſatisfactory, let him but for his farther Information carefully read over his whole Introduction, and our Author's Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Queries, printed in the firſt Volume of Dean *Hickes*'s Controverſial Letters.

LIV. *The ſame Attempt, as to ſome Proteſtant Writers.*

Now it is no wonder that a Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*, writing a *Hiſtory of the Variations of the Proteſtant Churches*, ſhould be very glad to take all Advantages againſt a learned Proteſtant, writing a Defence of the Faith which was Synodically declared by a general Council: But it may well deſerve to be wondered at, that there ſhould be any who pretend to receive the *Faith*, and yet at the ſame time

* Tridentina conventio quid vis potiùs quam Generale Concilium dicenda eſt. Proem. §. 18.

ſtick

ſtick not to vilifie the *Council* wherein it was eſtabliſhed, or rather more properly declared. Some ſuch however among Proteſtants there are. It is plain *Epiſcopius* was far from being a Socinian, as our Author truly obſerveth, having expreſly written againſt, and ſolidly overthrown the fundamental Article of Socinianiſm; and endeavoured from the Teſtimony of Scripture, to ſhew his Orthodoxy in the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity; but the Defender of the *Nicene Faith* is, it ſeems, more than a *little* diſpleaſed at him, for his courſe, and moſt unhandſome Treatment * of the *Nicene* Fathers: And the Theological Inſtitutions of this learned Remonſtrant, being about that time generally in the Hands of our Students of Divinity in both Univerſities, as the beſt Syſtem of Divinity that had appeared, Mr. *Bull* had reaſon to fear, that many by reading a Book ſo well approved of, might ſuck in thence a very mean Opinion of thoſe venerable Fathers; and not only of them, but of moſt, or all of the Primitive Writers and Witneſſes, both preceding and ſucceeding them; and thought it incumbent upon him to wipe off the Calumny which he ſaw caſt upon them, at the ſame time that he defended the common Faith, as by them delivered and explained.

* Epiſcop. Inſtit. Theolog. Lib. 4. cap. 34. Bull Proœm. defen. fid. Nic. §. 5.

This

An Advantage taken by Socinians *and* Arians *from the Writings of ſome learned Remonſtrants.*

This was the more neceſſary, becauſe the Remonſtrant Writers, among whom there were Men of excellent Learning and Parts, had now acquired a conſiderable Reputation in our Univerſities, by the means of ſome great Men among us: And therefore ſince *Grotius*, *Epiſcopius*, *Curcellæus*, and others of them, while they were willing to appear as Orthodox as any in the Article of our Saviour's Deity, did yet let fall ſeveral things, which the Adverſaries thereof greedily catched up, as making for them; Mr. *Bull* was much in the right to prepare an Antidote againſt the lurking Poiſon, which might ſecretly inſtill it ſelf into the Minds of unwary Readers. This he hath done in his excellent *Defenſe of the Faith* of this Council; and yet more in his *Judgment of the Catholick Church*, &c. as hereafter will be ſhewn. Of the firſt of theſe, which was written deſignedly and directly againſt *Petavius* the Jeſuit, Dr. *Zuicker* a Socinian, and *Sandius*, or *Sanden* an Arian, there are ſo many things to be ſaid, ſhould one ſet about the giving an exact ſtate of the Controverſy, with reſpect to the different Intereſts and Views of theſe three learned Men, as they are conſidered by this our very learned Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, that it is thought better to cut the Matter ſhort between them; leaving the critical Examination of the whole, to them that will take the pains to ſcrutinize the Jeſuit by the Fathers, the Socinian by the Jeſuit, the Arian

Arian by the Socinian, and all three by their Anſwerer, and the original Authorities.

LV. Now the four principal Pillars of the Catholick Doctrine concerning CHRIST, maintained and defended in this Book, are his *Preexiſtence*, his *Divine Subſtantiality*, his *Eternity*, and his *Subordination* as Son. For againſt the Socinians he proveth, that the Son of God did *preexiſt* before he was born of the Virgin, and even before the World alſo was, by many great Authorities. And againſt the Arians, he ſheweth how this Son of God is not of any created and changeable Eſſence, but of the very *ſame Nature* with God his Father: and ſo is rightly called, *very God of very God*, and *of one Subſtance with the Father*. Alſo againſt the ſame he demonſtrateth, how this Conſubſtantial Son of God, muſt have had a *Coeternal* Exiſtence with the Father. And laſtly, againſt the Tritheiſts and Sabellians, he argueth the neceſſity of believing the Father, to be the Fountain, Original, and Principle of the Son, and that the Son is hence *ſubordinate* to the Father.

The chief Pillars of the Catholick Faith concerning Chriſt.

Which four Articles being eſtabliſhed in this Treatiſe, the Heads of the Catholick Doctrine, concerning the HOLY GHOST, do thence eaſily alſo unfold themſelves; and are theſe according as he hath explained them here, though

And concerning the Holy Ghoſt.

though but incidentally. I. * The Holy Ghoſt is not a mere Energy of the Father, but a diſtinct divine Perſon. II. This divine Perſon is of the ſame Nature and Eſſence with the Father and the Son. III. He not only preexiſted before the World, but is Eternal as the Father is Eternal. Yet, IV. He is not ſelf originated, but proceedeth from the Father eternally as his original, and is ſent by the Son. Theſe are the four capital Points, concerning the Faith in the Holy Ghoſt, as defended by our Author, which ſuppoſe the Proof of the fore-going Articles concerning the Son; about which therefore it was neceſſary he ſhould be very large.

An Account of Mr. Bull's *Theſis, concerning the* Preexiſtence *of* Chriſt.

Now that we may the better comprehend his whole Deſign in this elaborate Work, it will not be unuſeful to ſet down the entire Plan at once, and to lay together the ſeveral *Theſes* which he hath undertaken herein to defend, againſt both Arians and Socinians on one hand, as alſo againſt Sabellians and Tritheiſts on the other. His *firſt Theſis* is this: *The Perſon called* Jeſus Chriſt, *before ever he had that Name, or was born of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *had a real* Exiſtence *in a far more excellent Nature than the Human, and therein did appear to the Holy Men of old, as a Fore-token of his fu-*

* Sect. 1. Cap. 2. N. 4. Sect. 2. Cap. 3. N. 13. N. 16. Cap. 4. N. 8. Cap. 5. N. 9. uſque ad finem.

ture

ture Incarnation, and did preſide over, and had care of the Church, which was to be redeemed with his Blood, ſo that from the beginning of the World, the whole order of the divine Oeconomy *was through him all along tranſacted: Yea, that even before the very Foundation of the World, he was* actually preſent *with God his Father, and that through him all this Univerſe was created.* This he ſaith, is the unanimous Doctrine of all the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries, nor is the Truth of it denied by the Arians. But againſt the Socinians, he proveth firſt, That all the divine Apparitions in the Old Teſtament, are by theſe ancient Writers generally explained, concerning the Son of God. For Proof of which, he appealeth to *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and the very ancient Author of the Book *de Trinitate*. And, that this continued to be the Doctrine of the Catholick Church after the Council of *Nice*, he citeth *Athanaſius*, *Hilary*, *Philaſtrius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, *Leo* the Great, and *Theodoret*. After which, he proveth alſo, the actual Exiſtence of the *divine Logos* before the World was made, and the Creation thereof by him, from the Teſtimony of the Apoſtolical Fathers and others. And laſtly, he proveth * againſt the Arians, that they herein betray their own

* Epilog. Oper. Univ. p. 291.

Cauſe, by granting the Father to have made all things by his Son *out of nothing*; ſince nothing is more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that a Creature, which is it ſelf made out of nothing, ſuch as by them the Son is conceived to be, can have ſuch a Power communicated to it, as is not leſs than Infinite, even to the producing other Creatures *inſtrumentally* out of nothing; and ſince nothing alſo tendeth more to revive the Primitive Hereſy, or rather Blaſphemy of the very worſt ſort of Gnoſticks, who fancied the World to have been created, at leaſt *inſtrumentally*, by certain Angels, and inferiour Demiurgick Powers: But more eſpecially, for as much as the primitive Catholick Writers, even before the ſtirs about *Arius*, have from the Work of Creation common to the Son with the Father, inferred the common Divine Nature of them both; and eſpecially averred, that God created the World by nothing that was *without him*, but by his *Word* only, which was *with him* and *in him*.

LVI. *An Account of his* Theſis *concerning the* Conſubſtantiality *of the* WORD *with God the* FATHER.

His ſecond Theſis is this, That *it is the conſtant and unanimous Opinion of the Catholick Writers, for the three firſt Centuries; that the Son of God is* Conſubſtantial *to God the Father; not of any created or mutable Eſſence, but of the very ſelf ſame Divine and Incommunicable Nature with his Father, and ſo he is true God of true God.* This Article of the *Conſubſtantiality* of the Father and the Son, being that upon

on which the whole Controverſy of the Catholicks with the Arians doth turn; our Author thought it worth his while to treat the ſame more largely and diſtinctly, than the former, which is granted by the Arians to the Catholicks. After therefore the * Explication of his Theſis, and Vindication of the Term made uſe of by the *Nicene* Fathers, he begin-neth with the Eccleſiaſtical Writers of the Apoſtolical † Age, and ſheweth, the Senſe of St. *Barnabas*, St. *Hermas*, and St. *Ignatius* in this Matter, and ‡ vindicateth St. *Clement* of *Rome*, and St. *Polycarp*, from the Miſrepreſentations of *Zwickerus* and *Sandius*. Then he proceedeth lower to || *Juſtin Martyr*, out of whom he bringeth abundance of Teſtimonies, too hard for the Arians as well as Socinians ever to get over. After whom, he calleth in for Witneſſes, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian* and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*. His next Evidence for the Son's being of the ſame divine Nature and Eſſence with God the Father, is * St. *Irenæus*, who is a very clear one. † *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who followeth him, may not ſeem perhaps ſo clear altogether; nevertheleſs, he is vindicated againſt the Exceptions of *Huetius*, *Petavius*, and *Sandius*. And ſome Teſtimonies are brought out of his Works, for the Conſubſtantiality of the whole Trinity, which

* Sect. ii Cap. i. † Cap. ii. ‡ Cap. iii. || Cap. iv. * Cap. v. † Cap. vi.

are plain enough. After these Witnesses for the Truth of his Thesis, he examineth * *Tertullian*, and after him † *Caius* and *Hippolytus*, concerning what Tradition they had received as to this Article: and then is very full in his Vindication of ‡ *Origen*, from an Imputation commonly cast upon him, proving out of his undoubted, and most accurate, and uncorrupted Work against *Celsus*, that his Doctrine, concerning the true and proper Divinity of the Son of God, was most Catholick, and altogether according to the *Nicene* Faith. That the holy Martyr || *Cyprian*, that *Novatian*, or the Author of the Book *de Trinitate*, among *Tertullian*'s Works, that *Theognostus* the *Alexandrian*, that * *Dionysius* of *Rome*, and the other of *Alexandria*, were of the same Sentiment with the *Nicene* Fathers as to this Point, he hath likewise endeavoured at large to shew. Which he hath farther confirmed, by the Profession of *Gregory*, called † *Thaumaturgus*, and by Arguments drawn from the || Synodical Epistles of six Bishops to *Paulus Samosatensis*, notwithstanding what is objected by *Petavius* and *Sandius*; and from the Relations concerning St. *Pierius* of *Alexandria*, and St. *Pamphilus* of *Cesarea*, with St. *Lucianus* of *Antioch*, and St. *Methodius* of *Tyrus*; and from Observations upon some Passages of ‡ *Arnobius*

* Cap. vii. † Cap. viii. ‡ Cap. ix. || Cap. x. * Cap. xi. † Cap. xii. || Cap. xiii. ‡ Cap. xiv.

and

and *Lactantius*. And thus the Doctrine of the Son's *Conſubſtantiality*, being eſtabliſhed by the conſentient Suffrages of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, taken either from their Works or Fragments that are preſerved, his *Coeternity* with God the Father, is by neceſſary Conſequence inferred, which is the Subject of the following Section.

And concerning his Coeternity *with him.*

Now whereas the ancient Church Writers did differently expreſs themſelves on this Point, while yet he will have it, that there was no difference in their Meaning; he hath proved, I. *That the better and greater part of the Chriſtian Doctors, who lived before the Council of* Nice, *did openly, clearly, and perſpicuouſly, without any windings, teach and profeſs the* τὸ συναΐδιον *of the Son, that is, his* Coeternal Exiſtence *with God the Father.* II. *That ſome Catholick Writers, more ancient than the* Nicene *Council, ſeem to attribute a certain Nativity to the Son of God,* as God, *which ſometime began, and juſt* preceded *the Creation of the World: But that theſe notwithſtanding were very wide from the Opinion of* Arius. "For if (ſaith he) "their Sayings are accurately weighed, it will "appear, that they ſpake of a Nativity not "*Real* and *properly* ſo called, whereby the "Son received a beginning of his Subſtance, "[ὑπόστασις] and Subſiſtence; but of a *figura-*"*tive* and *metaphorical* one: That is, their "meaning was only this, that the *Logos*, or "divine Word, which from before all Ages

" (or rather from all Eternity) did, *as being* " *nothing but God*, exiſt *in* and *with* God the " Father, as the Coeternal Offspring of his " *Eternal* Mind, then when he was about to " create the World, came forth *unto operati-* " *on* [κατ' ἐνέργειαν] or effectually, and ſo " proceeded to the *Conſtitution* (and Formati- " on) of all things therein, for the *manifeſting* " himſelf and his Father to the Creatures: " And that by reaſon of this Progreſſion [προό- " λευσις] he is in Scripture called, the Son of " God, and his *firſt Begotten*. III. *That ſome of the Catholick Doctors, who lived* after *the Arian Controverſy was ſprung up, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed themſelves to the Hereſy of the* Ario-manites, *nevertheleſs refuſed not to expreſs themſelves according to the* Sentiment, *or rather according to the manner of explaining their Sentiment, held by thoſe primitive Fathers juſt before mentioned.* For theſe alſo, as he evidently ſheweth, have acknowledged that *Progreſſion* out of the Father of the *Logos*, that exiſted always with the Father, to create all this Univerſe; which ſome of them have called by the Name Συγκατάβασις, that is, his *Condeſcenſion*: And have confeſſed, that even with reſpect to this *Progreſſion*, the *Word* was born as it were of God the Father, and is called in Scripture, the *Firſt begotten of every Creature*. IV. *That* Tertullian *indeed, had the boldneſs to write in expreſs terms*, Fuiſſe tempus, quando filius Dei non eſſet, *that there was a Time when the*

Son

Son of God was not. But then, firſt it is plain that this Writer, though otherwiſe of a great Genius, and no leſs Learning, fell away from the Catholick Church into Hereſy: and it is very uncertain, which Books he writ when he was a Catholick, which when he was inclining towards Hereſy, and which laſtly, when he was a downright Heretick. Then again *Tertullian* ſeems to have brought forth that Saying only problematically, or by way of Diſputation, [ἀγωνιστικῶς] and in the Conflict with his Adverſary, as it were playing about the Word *Son:* ſo as though he may ſeem abſolutely to deny the Son's *Eternity*, yet all the while he doth mean no more at the bottom, than thoſe other Fathers, that have been before mentioned*; namely, that *that Divine Perſon*, who is called the *Son of God*, notwithſtanding that he never but exiſted with the Father, was yet then firſt *declared* to be the Son, when he proceeded forth from the Father, in order to make or conſtitute the Univerſe. Certain it is, that the ſame *Tertullian* elſewhere, in many places philoſophizeth altogether as a good Catholick, concerning the Son's *Coeternity*; the Supereminency of the Subject conſidered. And as for *Lactantius*, who ſomewhere not obſcurely aſcribeth, *a beginning of Exiſtence* to the Son of God, his Eſteem and Authority in the Church of God is but very

* Sect. ii. Cap. 5, 6, 7, 8.

ſmall, for as much as he was uninſtructed in the Scriptures, and was furniſhed with but a ſmall Share of Chriſtian Learning. But moreover, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that either thoſe places in the Writings of *Lactantius*, which ſeem to make againſt the Son's Eternity, were corrupted by ſome *Manichean* Heretick, or elſe that *Lactantius* himſelf was certainly infected with the Hereſy of *Manes*. And after all, it muſt be owned, that even he too hath yet ſomewhere delivered a ſounder Opinion concerning the Eternity of the *Logos*. All which Particulars, our Author hath diſtinctly conſidered in the laſt Chapter of this third Section. The firſt of theſe Articles he hath illuſtrated and confirmed, by a very noble Paſſage out of St. *Ignatius*; as alſo by ſeveral plain and expreſs Teſtimonies of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Origen*; and likewiſe by many other concurring Suffrages of the Fathers, *Greek* and *Latin*, of the third Century, or thereabouts. The ſecond Article he clears up, by a moſt accurate Explication of the Opinion of *Athenagoras*, concerning the Son's *Eternity* and *Progreſſion*; as alſo of *Tatian* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, whom he proveth as to the main, to have been Sound and Catholick in this Point. The ſame he hath made out alſo, concerning St. *Hippolytus* the Martyr: and hath fully repreſented the Sentiment hereupon of the ancient Anonymous Author, *concerning the Trinity*, aſcribed to *Novatian*

vatian and *Tertullian*. The *Third* Article he hath eſtabliſhed and illuſtrated pretty largely; by Teſtimonies from the Catholick Fathers, who flouriſhed after the riſe of the Arian Controverſy; as particularly from the great *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea*, from *Socrates*, from *Athanaſius* himſelf, from an Epiſtle of ſome Arian Preſbyters, and Deacons, extant both in him and in *Hilary*, from *Zeno*, Biſhop of *Verona*, beſides the Epiſtle of *Conſtantine* the Great, to the *Nicomedians*, againſt *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, and other conſiderable Materials out of the fore-cited *Athanaſius*. The *Fourth* Article being no leſs ſolidly and perſpicuouſly proved by him, he concludeth with an Epilogue grounded upon a Saying of *Siſinnius*, reported by * *Socrates*, *That the Ancients did ſtudiouſly take heed, not to attribute any beginning of Exiſtence to the Son of God, becauſe they conceived him to be COETERNAL with the Father.* For it appears by him, of the *ſix* Ante-Nicene Writers (*Lactantius* not being reckoned) that ſpeak in the moſt ſuſpicious manner, no leſs than *five* of them, namely, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus*, *Hippolytus*, and the Author of the ancient Book, *de Trinitate*, have openly profeſſed, that the *divine Logos* was with God the Father from everlaſting. And even *Tertullian* himſelf, who is the *ſixth*, after a great deal of round-about Work, is found to

* Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. v. Cap. 10.

ſit

ſit down at laſt in the common Opinion, as he calls it, that is, in the Catholick or Orthodox Notion, and there to acquieſce: according as he hath expreſly aſſerted againſt the *Valentinians*, who were the Fore-runners of *Arius*. No doubt but that there were alſo many other monuments of Antiquity, which were ſeen and read by *Siſinnius*, who was known to be a Perſon of great Learning * in the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as particularly of *Quadratus*, *Ariſtides*, *Meltiades*, *Melito*, &c. which now are loſt; but might have ſerved not a little to the farther clearing up of this Theſis, had their Works come down to us. From this Determination of the Eternal Exiſtence of the *Logos*, or Word *in* and *with* the Father, he proceedeth in the laſt place, to conſider his Subordination, and dependence upon the Father, whoſe Word he is.

LVII. Now concerning the *Subordination* of the Son, as to his *Original* from the Father: Mr. *Bull* hath laid down and proved theſe three following Theſes, *viz.* 1. "† That Decree of the "*Nicene* Council, by which it is declared, "that the Son of God *is God of God* [θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ] "is generally approved of by the Catholick "Doctors, both by them that lived before, "and them that lived after that Council:

Notwithſtanding his Subordination *to the Father.*

* Sozom. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Lib. vii. Cap. 12. † Sect. iv. Cap. 1.

"For

" For they all with one conſent have taught,
" that the divine Nature and Perfections do a-
" gree to the Father and Son, not *Collaterally*
" or *Co-ordinately*, but *Subordinately*: That
" is, that the Son hath indeed the ſame divine
" Nature in common with the Father, but hath
" it *communicated* from the Father, ſo as the
" Father alone may have that divine Nature
" *from himſelf*, or from no other beſides, but
" the Son *from the Father*; and conſequently,
" that the Father is the Fountain, Original
" and Principle of the Divinity, which is in
" the Son. 2.* The Catholick Writers, both
" they that were before, and they that were
" after the Council of *Nice*, have unanimouſly
" declared, God the Father to be greater than
" the Son; even according to his Divinity:
" yet this not by Nature indeed, or by eſſential
" Perfection, which is in the Father, and is want-
" ing in the Son; but only by *Fatherhood*, or
" his being the Author and Original; for as
" much as the Son is from the Father, not the
" Father from the Son. 3. The Doctrine of the
" Subordination of the Son to the Father, as to
" his *Origination* and *Principiation*, the An-
" cients thought to be moſt uſeful, and even alto-
" gether neceſſary to be known and believed,
" that by this means, the God-head of the Son
" might be ſo aſſerted, as the *Unity* of God
" nevertheleſs, and the *divine Monarchy* might

* Cap. 11.

" ſtill

" ſtill be preſerved inviolate. For as much as " notwithſtanding the *Name* and *Nature* are " common to Two, that is, to the Father and " to the Son, yet becauſe one is the Principle " of the other, from whom he is propagated, " and that by internal not external Produ- " ction; it thence followeth, That God may " rightly be ſaid to be but one God. And " the ſame Ancients believed moreover, that " the very ſame Reaſon did hold likewiſe as " to the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt. This is the Sum of his Doctrine, of the divine Monarchy and Subordination in the Bleſſed Trinity, ſo as not to leſſen either the Conſubſtantiality or Coeternity of the Son and Spirit with the Father. For though he maintained that there are in the Deity Three really diſtinct Hypoſtaſes or Perſons, he no leſs ſtrenuouſly inſiſteth, that there is and can be but *One God*; firſt, becauſe there is but one Fountain or Principle of the Godhead, *viz.* The FATHER, who only is [Αὐτόθεος] God *of and from himſelf*, the SON and HOLY GHOST deriving from him their Divinity: And then becauſe the SON and HOLY GHOST are ſo derived from the Fountain of the Divinity, as not to be *ſeparate* or *ſeparable* from it, but always to exiſt therein moſt intimately united.

The Doctrine of the Council of Nice, *vindicated by Mr.* Bull, *againſt the modern* Autotheans.

Under each of theſe three laſt *Theſes*, there are ſome conſiderable Obſervations made by our Author, from the Catholick Doctors of the Church, both before and after the riſe of

of *Arianiſm*; without a thorough Underſtanding of which, it will be impoſſible ever to ſettle this Matter to Satisfaction. In treating the firſt of them, he hath learnedly and ſolidly confuted the unreaſonable and uncatholick Notion of the Moderns, which maketh the Son a ſelf-dependent Principle of Divinity (and by conſequence another God) by aſſerting and defending, that he might *properly* be called Αὐτόθεος, as well as the Father is, and that he is truly *God of himſelf*, and not *God of God*, as the *Nicene* Fathers confeſs him. This Opinion was firſt of all ſtarted by **Calvin*, againſt the Judgment of the Catholick Church to this very Day, and even of the firſt Reformers, *Luther* and *Melanchton*, as *Petavius* and our Author have ſufficiently ſhewn. It was afterwards dreſſed up and vindicated by † *Danæus*, and after him by ſeveral others of the *Calviniſtical* School; whoſe main Argument was this, that Chriſt muſt have been *God of himſelf*, or elſe he could not be God at all; becauſe to be God, ſuppoſeth *Self-exiſtence*. This Opinion was very much oppoſed about the End of the XVIth, and the Beginning of the XVIIth Century by *Arminius* in an epiſtolary Diſſertation on this Subject, to one *Vytenbogard*; in his *Declaration* made before the States of *Holland*, in his *Apology* againſt the *One* and *Thirty*

* Inſti. Theol. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. §. 19. † Iſagog. Chriſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 23.

Articles

Articles; and laſtly, in a Letter to the Prince *Palatine*'s Envoyée to the *States General*. But the Prejudices which many entertained againſt him, were ſo violent, as none of his Arguments could get to be heard by them, who were ſo bigotted to their Maſter, and to his private Opinions, as not to be able to bear any Thing which might grate but never ſo little upon the Eſteem they had for him, and for Theſes, which were looked upon by them as ſo many evangelical Diſcoveries. This ſeems to be the true State of the Matter; whence this Controverſy was ſtill kept up by ſome of the more zealous Anti-Remonſtrants, notwithſtanding the great Weight of Evidence brought for the old catholick Doctrine againſt them in this Article.

Some went ſo far, as even to ridicule the *Nicene* Creed upon this Account, and to call the Fathers who compoſed it, a Parcel of * *Fanaticks*, for ſtyling therein Chriſt *God of God, Light of Light*, &c. And ſome ran alſo hence into † *Sabellian Explications* of this Myſtery, even to the taking away of all Diſtinction of Hypoſtaſes in the Goodhead, as by our Author hath been well obſerv'd: *Bellarmin* and *Petavius* have been too ſevere however, upon *Calvin* for this Miſtake; but ‡ *Poſſevin* ſtill more

* Vid. defen. Fid. Nic. Sect. IV. Cap. 1. §. 8. † Ib. §. 7. & 9. & Epiſt. 1. Armin. ad J. Vytenbog. ‡ Lib. de Atheis. Hær. Cap. 6. p. 14. Edit. Colog. 1586.

ſo,

ſo, by whom it is named the *Hereſie of the Autotheans*; and the Founder of it, the *new Tritheiſt.* But there is none, after all, to be compared with a certain * *Auſtrian* Jeſuit, the Author of a Book call'd *Symbola tria*, who hath been at the Pains to collect ſeveral Paſſages out of *Calvin*'s *Inſtitutions*, and his *Explication of the Perfidiouſneſs of* Valentinus Gentilis, that he might compare them with ſome Paſſages of the *Alcoran*, aſſerting God to be a Being of himſelf neceſſarily exiſting, to whom it is impoſſible to receive or borrow his Eſſence *from another.* And thence moſt uncharitably concludeth, that *Mahomet* and *Calvin* muſt both have had the ſame wicked Deſign. *Epiſcopius* and *Curcellæus* have been much more modeſt and candid in animadverting on this novel Opinion, and eſtabliſhing the *Communicability* of the divine Nature and Eſſence from the Father to the Son, according to the Faith of the Catholick Church.

His candid Treatment of Calvin *on this Account.*

And even the Zeal of Mr. *Bull*, hath not here hindred him from treating, with Eſteem, the Author of ſo dangerous an Opinion, while at the ſame time he is confuting it, for the ſake of ſome laudable Qualifications which he diſcerned in him, and was endeavouring to excuſe him as well as the Matter could bear,

* Symbola tria CATHOLICUM, CALVINIANUM, LUTHERANUM omnia ipſis eorum verbis expreſſa. Quirinus Cnoglerus Auſtrius recenſuit & notis illuſtravit, Colon. 1622.

againſt

againſt the Inſults of the moſt learned Writer of his whole Order, ſo famous for Learning. This deſerveth the more to be taken notice of, becauſe ſome of the Expreſſions of that Author are ſo very harſh, with reſpect to the preſent Point, and did ſeem to border ſo nearly upon what his Enemies have accuſed him of, as made Mr. *Bull*'s Ears almoſt to tingle, and cauſed him to break out after this manner, *Horreſco hæc referens, &c.* that is, * "While I "am telling theſe Things, I have an Horror "upon me; and therefore I moſt ſeriouſly "exhort the pious and ſtudious Youth, that "they take heed of that Spirit from which "ſuch Effects as theſe have proceeded. We "owe much indeed to that great Man, for his "excellent Service in purging the Church of "Chriſt from popiſh Superſtition. But far "be it from us, that we ſhould receive him "for our Maſter, or that we ſhould ſwear to "his Words; or laſtly, that we ſhould be "afraid freely to remark, as there ſhall be "Cauſe for ſo doing, his manifeſt Errors, and "his new and ſingular Determinations, againſt "the Catholick Conſent of Antiquity. In which Words our Author hath ſo fully and clearly expreſs'd his true Senſe, and a generous Liberty of Mind, and given withal, ſuch a prudent Caution and Advice to all young Students in Divinity, as nothing farther need,

* Sect. IV. Cap. 1. §. 8.

I ſup-

I ſuppoſe be added, to clear him from an Imputation, which ſome have injuriouſly caſt upon him, of having *infamouſly broken the Cartel of Honour and Civility*, by his Treatment of them of the oppoſite ſide.

LVIII. *He defends an* Equality *of* Nature, *not to be inconſiſtent with ſuch a* Subordination.

In his handling the ſecond Theſis, Mr. *Bull* hath ſhewn, that he had examined the Holy Fathers of the Church, both before and after the Determination of the Council of *Nice*, with a more than ordinary *Application*, *Diligence* and *Obſervation*, (as his very * Enemies cannot deny) and hath proved it to have been the general Belief, that *the Father was* greater *than the Son as to his* Original, *and the Son* equal *to his Father as to his* Nature, [κατὰ φύσιν;] and † anſwered at large the principal Objection againſt the *natural Coequality* of the Father and the Son, taken from ſuch Paſſages in the Ante-Nicene Writers, as ſeem to deny the *Immenſity* and *Inviſibility* of the Son; which are here reconciled with other Paſſages in them, which are expreſs for thoſe Attributes, being common to him with the Father.

The Advantage of this Doctrine, how by him explained.

Under the third and laſt Theſis he hath made appear, the Uſe and Advantage of this Doctrine, concerning the Subordination of the Son to the Father, notwithſtanding the Equality of their Nature; and hath many judicious Obſervations, about the Diſtinction and Uni-

* *Judgment of the Fathers*, p. 77. † Cap. iii.

on of the Divine Hypoſtaſes or Perſons; about the Conſent of both the contending Sides, in laying a Principle of Unity in the Father, (whether that be Conſubſtantial or not Conſubſtantial;) about internal and external Production; and about ſome other Matters for the farther Explication, both of the Monarchy and the Trinity in the Godhead, from the principal Fathers both *Greek* and *Latin*. There are various Opinions it is true, concerning his Performance of this laſt Part: and different Uſes have been made thereof by different Parties, which is not much to be wondred at. To come to our preſent Times.

LIX. *The Uſe of this Treatiſe made by Dr.* Clarke *conſidered.*

The ingenious and learned Dr. *Clarke* in particular, hath in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* *, printed this very Year, no leſs than thirty Citations out of this very Treatiſe; and almoſt all of them are repreſented in a very different View from that which our Author had certainly in writing thoſe Paſſages: as are alſo the Citations out of the Fathers themſelves, which Dr. *Clarke* here met with, and hath accommodated to his own purpoſe, and that frequently, without ſo much as the leaſt notice taken of the Explications and Anſwers, given to them by this our Author. And here becauſe ſome have thought Dr. *Clarke*'s Scheme of the Trinity, to be in ſome meaſure agreeable to that which is delivered to us for the

* *The Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity, in three parts, &c. by* Samuel Clarke, *D.D.* &c. London 1712.

Catho-

Catholick Doctrine in this moſt learned Treatiſe, from the Teſtimony of the three firſt Ages of Chriſtianity; and that it is ſomewhat ſupported by the Authority of two ſuch great Names amongſt us, as *PEARSON* and *BULL*; I ſhall here ſet it down, as well as I can in a few Words, that the Reader may compare it with the foregoing Theſes, and thence judge for himſelf.

Whoſe Scheme is compared with his.

The learned Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, having vindicated at large, as we have already ſeen, both the *Conſubſtantiality* of the Son, and his *Coeternal Exiſtence* with the Father, gave occaſion for different Reflections, by his maintaining, that though the Son be Co-Equal with the Father, as having the ſame Divine Nature with the Father without any Change or Diminution, yet he is ſubordinate to the Father, as receiving the Divine Nature from him. This is in ſhort the very Sum of his Doctrine, which hath been excepted againſt by ſome, and miſapplied by others; as if ſuch a Subordination, which he teacheth were in it ſelf inconſiſtent with a natural or eſſential Coequality of Perſons. But not to trouble our ſelves here with any others, let us proceed to take a View at once of the Doctrine of the Trinity, which Dr. *Clarke* hath advanced for the true *Scripture Doctrine* of it; which is this, *viz.* "There is "one firſt and ſupreme Cauſe, the Author of "all Being, and ſole Origin of all Power and "Authority, who alone is Self-exiſtent, Un"derived, Unoriginated, Independent, made

" of none, begotten of none, proceeding from " none; who is called the *Father*, and is ab- " ſolutely *Supreme over all*, and the *One* or " only God in the Scripture Language. With " whom there hath exiſted from the Begin- " ning a *Second* divine Perſon, who is called " his *Word* or *Son*, deriving his Being or Eſ- " ſence, and all his Attributes from him, as " the ſupreme Cauſe; but whether by the " *Neceſſity* of *Nature*, or the *Power* of his *Will* " only, the Doctor will not be poſitive: No " more than he will be, whether he exiſted " *from all Eternity*, or only *before all Worlds*; " and whether he was *begotten of the ſame Sub-* " *ſtance* and Eſſence with the Father, or *made* " *out of nothing*; becauſe of the Danger of " preſuming, to be able to define the *particu-* " *lar metaphyſical Manner* of the Son's deriv- " ing his Eſſence from the Father. With whom " alſo a *Third* Perſon hath exiſted, deriving " his Eſſence in like manner from him, through " the Son; which Perſon hath higher Titles " aſcribed to him than to any Angel, or other " created Being whatſoever, but is no where " called *God* in Scripture, being ſubordinate " to the Son, both by *Nature* and by the *Will* " of the Father. This is the Subſtance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, as defended by this Doctor, and from which he inferreth, " That " *abſolute ſupreme Honour* is due to the Perſon " of the *Father* ſingly, as being alone the ſu- " preme Author of all Being and Power, and

" that

" that whatever Honour is paid to the *Son*,
" who redeemed, or to the *Holy Spirit*, who
" ſanctifieth us, muſt always be underſtood, as
" tending finally to the Honour and Glory of
" the *Father*, by whoſe good Pleaſure the
" Son redeemed, and the Holy Spirit ſancti-
" fies us. According to this Doctrine, it ap-
peareth that the *Son* muſt not be God, ſtrictly and properly ſpeaking, much leſs ſtill the Holy Spirit, but that God the Father alone is *the true and ſupreme God*: And therefore he aſſerts expreſly, that the Scripture, when it mentions God abſolutely, and by way of eminence, means the Perſon of the Father; as likewiſe when it mentioneth the *one God*, or the *only God*; though he could not after having read the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, be ignorant that this was contrary to the Mind of the Catholick Fathers. Neither could he, of what the learned Author of the *Conſiderations on Mr.* Whiſton's *Hiſtorical Preface*, whom he cites, had ſaid to this Purpoſe; though he might not poſſibly have obſerved or remembred, that there is a whole Chapter in St. * *Irenæus*, purpoſely to ſhew, that Chriſt is in Scripture, expreſly and abſolutely called *God*, and that he is the *one* and *only God* in the Unity of the Father's Subſtance or Eſſence; and *very God*, in oppoſition to all thoſe that are improperly called *God* in the ſacred Writings. However this

* Lib. 3. Cap. vi.

might be, certain it is, that Dr. *Clarke*, who had ſo ample a Collection of Teſtimonies concerning the Trinity before him in this Treatiſe, as well as in *Petavius*, hath not made that uſe of them, which this indefatigable and judicious Collector did, or which might have been expected from a Perſon of ſo great a Character in the Church and learned World as Dr. *Clarke*.

The Doctor's artful way of citing Authors and Books.

For the plain and confeſſed Truth is, that we are not to depend much upon the Quotations by him brought, for knowing the Opinion or Judgment of any Writer: ſince this was never ſo much as deſigned by him. Wherefore *the Reader muſt not wonder*, as he himſelf fairly warneth, *if many Paſſages not conſiſtent with (nay perhaps contrary to) thoſe which are cited* by him in this Book, *ſhall by any one be alledged out of the ſame Authors*. So we muſt not wonder if in above thirty Citations, out of our Author, according as this ingenious Writer hath extracted and applied them, we can hardly find one in ten of them cited with any Conſiſtence with, or Subſervience to that, which we know for certain to have been our Author's fixt Opinion, and well weighed Judgment. For whoſoever will be at the pains to compare the ſeveral Paſſages cited by Dr. *Clarke*, as they ſtand in the places whence they are taken, with other clear and expreſs Paſſages of our learned Author; and with the whole ſcope and purport of his Reaſonings for the Truth of the Nicene Doctrine,

ctrine, muſt evidently perceive, that theſe are all placed in quite another Light than in the Book referred to; that ſome are directly contrary to the Author's true Meaning, and to his Deſign in writing, and moſt of the reſt *inconſiſtent* at leaſt with the ſame, as the Doctor very well knew. And indeed he minceth not the matter, but frankly and ingenuouſly acknowledgeth, that he doth not *cite Places out of theſe Authors*, [meaning them who have written ſince the Council of *Nice*] *ſo much to ſhew what was the Opinion of the Writers themſelves, as to ſhew how naturally Truth ſometimes prevails by its own native Clearneſs and Evidence, even againſt the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſettled Prejudices.* Nothing therefore would be more vain, than to expect to learn from him the Opinion of any Chriſtian Writer whatſoever, later than the Council of *Nice*, becauſe quoted by him: And as for the Writers before, and at the time of that Council, he *thinketh*, that the greateſt part of them were really of that Opinion, which he hath endeavoured to ſet forth in his *Propoſitions*, which make the *Second Part* of his pretended *Scripture Doctrine*. But though this be his Thought, he cannot but own nevertheleſs, that *they do not always ſpeak very clearly and conſiſtently*. By which I ſuppoſe he meaneth, that they do not always plainly ſupport his Scheme. This Charge however, I do not find laid by him againſt our Author, who hath ſpoken his Mind clearly enough

in the great Points before us, and who will appear to have never contradicted his own Assertions or Theses concerning these mysterious Truths.

More particularly, the Defensio fidei Nicenæ.

One would indeed be almost tempted to believe, that he had, from many Passages that this learned Doctor hath picked up out of him with much Art, in order to support his own Scheme, been altogether of his Mind; or that at least his manner of Writing must have been very perplexed, without any Connexion or Consistency with Principles, and as holding forth frequently a double Meaning. But that this is no part of his Character, the very Passages appealed to by the very Doctor himself, to exemplify how *naturally Truth* can prevail, as he will have it, *by its own native Evidence*, are more than sufficient to prove; for which Reason, I have drawn up a * List of them, that

* Clarke's *Script. Doctrine.*	Bull's *Def. Fidei* Nicen.
P. I. C. 1. §. 3. T. 340. p. 52	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 13.
P. I. C. 2. §. 3. T. 616. p. 177	Sect. I. C. 1. §. 2.
Ibid. ——— p. 118	Sect. IV. C. 3. §. 15.
P. I. C. 2. §. 5. T. 830. p. 161	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 12.
P. I. C. 2. §. 5. T. 934. p. 117	Sect. II. C. 3. §. 4.
———	*Ibid.* C. 4. §. 7.
P. II. §. 9. p. 257 ———	*Prom.* §. 4.
P. II. §. 11. p. 266 ———	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 8.
P. II. §. 11. p. 269 ———	*Ibid.* §. 12.
P. II. §. 11. p. 270 ———	Sect. IV. C. 1. §. 2.
P. II. §. 12. p. 271 ———	Sect. IV. C. 1. §. 7.
Ibid. ———	*Ibid.* §. 8
P. II. §. 17. p. 282 ———	Sect. III. C. 8. §. 8.
P. II. §. 23. p. 295 ———	Sect. II. C. 13. §. 1.
Ibid. ———	Sect. III. C. 9. §. 8.
P. II. §. 34. p. 311 ———	Sect. II. C. 8. §. 5.

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the equal and impartial Examiners may be fully informed in the Matter, as it shall be thought worth their while; and so be enabled to pass a right Judgment, according as the Evidence shall clearly cast the Balance for the one or for the other of these Writers. The very first Passage of all, is a Remark of our Authors upon the Words of *Origen*, commenting on our Lord's Answer to the Person who called him *Good*, which the learned *Huetius*, in his *Origeniana*, had charged with Heresy. These Mr. *Bull* hath fully vindicated, against that heavy Charge, and shewn how *Huetius* mistook this Father, speaking of Christ as an *Exemplar* in his humane Nature, and according

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* Clarke's *Script. Doctrine.*	Bull's *Def. Fidei* Nice.
Ibid.	Sect. IV. C. 1. §. 7.
P. II. §. 34. p. 311	Sect. IV. C. 2. §. 3.
P. II. §. 34. p. 312	Sect. IV. C. 3. §. 4.
P. II. §. 36. p. 326	Sect. II. C. 6. §. 5.
Ibid. p. 329	Sect. II. C. 5. §. 6.
Ibid. p. 330	Sect. IV. C. 3. §. 4.
P. II. §. 39. p. 346	Sect. II. C. 8. §. 5.
Ibid.	Sect. III. C. 5. §. 4.
Ibid. p. 347	Sect. IV. C. 4. §. 2.
Ibid. p. 348	Sect. IV. C. 4. §. 7.
P. II. §. 44. p. 357	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 15.
Ibid. p. 358	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 8, 15.
Ibid. p. 359	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 15.
Ibid.	Sect. IV. C. 1. §. 7.
Ibid. p. 360	Sect. IV. C. 4. §. 5.
Ibid.	Sect. II. C. 3. §. 6.
Ibid. p. 361	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 15.
P. II. §. 45. p. 363	*Ibid.*
Ibid. p. 364	Sect. II. C. 3. §. 6.
Ibid.	Sect. II. C. 9. §. 15.
P. II. §. 45. p. 364	Sect. IV. C. 4. §. 5.
P. III. C. 11. p. 458	Sect. IV. C. 4. §. 7.

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to the *Oeconomy of God*, [Ad Christi οἰκονομίαν in assumptâ naturâ humanâ susceptam] as if he had spoken of him with respect to his divine Nature: And not the least Word is said that can justly be interpreted of the Son's Inferiority to the Father in Nature, but rather on the contrary. For he there sheweth, that *Origen* did hold and teach the Son to be *very God, Uncreated, Immortal, Immutable, Impassible, Infinite, Omnipresent, and absolutely Blessed and Perfect, no less than the Father*, by clear and undoubted Testimonies, taken from his Book against *Celsus*; and answereth all the Objections or Suspicions of *Huetius*, against the Soundness of his Faith in that Article. The next Passage cited by Dr. *Clarke*, is no more for an *Inferiority of Nature* in the Son, than the first is: The plain Meaning of it being no other than that, according to the constant Doctrine of all Catholick Fathers, Christ did actually subsist before his Incarnation, in another and more excellent Nature than that of Man; and that appearing to the holy Men under the Old Testament, he received from them divine Honours, and was manifested to them by the most high Name of God. Mr. *Bull* first proveth his *Pre-existence*, and his *Apparitions* in a human Form, as a kind of Anticipation of his taking on him our Flesh: and this being proved, he then sheweth, how he did *Eternally* Exist with the Father, in the same Nature and Substance. Now there is nothing in this whole Method, nor

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in any particular Argument under it, which doth tend in the leaſt to favour ſuch an Inequality of Nature in Father and Son, as is included in that Scheme which it is brought to ſupport. As for the third Paſſage made uſe of, it is certainly no better applied than the former; the Deſign of that whole Chapter whence it is taken, being to anſwer a principal Objection, which had even ſhocked Mr. *Bull* himſelf for a good while, that would infer a *Difference* in the divine Nature of the Son from that of the Father, the one *manifeſtable*, the other *not manifeſtable*. The fourth Paſſage ſeemeth indeed to be very much to his Purpoſe, and every one that reads it as it is cited, and will not be at the pains to conſult either what follows it, or what is there diſtinctly referred to, may be eaſily led to think, that our Author was not a Defender, but an Underminer of the *Nicene Faith*, by maintaining the Son, *even as he is God*, to be *leſs* than the Father: which though it be moſt true in a certain Senſe which he hath explained, in conformity to primitive Teſtimonies, and to the Confeſſion of the Council of *Nice* it ſelf, as *he is God of God*; yet is both moſt diametrically oppoſite to his plain Meaning, and to what he defended for the Catholick Faith with ſo much Strength, if thereby it be underſtood, that there is *greater* and *leſs* in the divine Nature and Eſſence. Which matter being fully and clearly handled in the ſecond Chapter of his *fourth Section*, I ſhall ſay no more to it: but

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ſend my learned Reader thither for Satisfaction, as Mr. *Bull* himſelf hath done before me, in that very Paſſage which the Doctor hath here cited; but without taking notice of the Reference. Whether it were the Doctor's Deſign, hereby to ſhew *how eaſy and natural that Notion muſt be allowed to be, which ſo* learned a Defender of the Faith, in a Treatiſe written for the Cauſe of the Council of *Nice* againſt the Arians, *could not forbear expreſſing ſo clearly and diſtinctly even frequently, when at the ſame time he is about to affirm, and endeavouring ſomething not very conſiſtent with it*; I ſhall not much enquire: It is enough, to have ſhewn what manner of Judgment we ought to make of his Citations, for they are generally applied much after the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Views. And it were a-like eaſy to ſhew, how his Teſtimonies out of the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, are alleged in this very manner, *Teſte Seipſo*. But ſince he bringeth them only as *Illuſtrations* of his Propoſitions, not as *Proofs* of them; it is certainly not worth the while to contend about what he himſelf layeth ſo little ſtreſs upon. Howſoever, it may deſerve to be taken notice of, that the greateſt part of the Teſtimonies by him produced, do appear in quite another Light, as they are cited by the judicious Mr. *Bull*, than as they are applied by Dr. *Clarke* for illuſtrating his Propoſitions. Whether Dr. *Clarke*'s Doctrines or Mr. *Bull*'s be beſt ſupported by theſe Teſtimonies, I leave the Learned to judge.

Dr.

LX.

The Use of this Treatise made by Dr. Edwards, the Animadverter on Dr. Clarke.

Dr. *John Edwards* of *Cambridge*, *on the other hand, hath found fault with our Author, for a Reason which made him the better accepted with Dr. *Clarke*; as not being able to receive the Doctrine of the Subordination of the Son to the Father, in the Sense of the ancient Writers, yea even of *Athanasius* himself; and therefore condemning, together with him, a pretty Number of the Ancients as well as of the Moderns, and such of them both, as generally have been accounted most Orthodox in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and some more particularly famous, for their being Advocates for the Consubstantiality and natural Equality of Father and Son. Now the Case plainly standeth thus between them. There can be no doubt but that Christ spoke these Words, *my Father is greater than I*, in whatsoever Sense they are to be understood. These are made use of in the *Scripture Doctrine* aforementioned, to prove the *Inferiority* of the Son, and consequently, as Dr. *Edwards* observeth, to subvert his real Divinity. Now it is acknowledged by this learned Animadverter, that *some*, yea *a pretty many* of the Ancients, understand this place, *John* xiv. *ver.* 28. of Christ's *divine Nature*, and insist upon it, that he is inferiour

* Some Animadversions on Dr. *Clark's Scripture-Doctrine* (as he stiles it) of the TRINITY: briefly shewing; That his Quotations out of the Fathers are forced: His Texts produced from Scripture are wrested: His Arguments and Inferences are weak and Illogical: and that his whole Performance falls short of his Design. By *John Edwards, D. D. London*, 1712.

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to the Father, *because he is his Son*. He denies not, but that *Athanasius* himself interpreteth the Text after that manner: and saith, that *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, *Chrysostome*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria* do the like. He mentioneth two only that understand it of Christ's *humane Nature*: and then referreth to seven of them, that interpret this Text concerning *both Natures*. But this is, in his Judgment, a depressing the Doctrine of Christ's supreme Divinity; and he will have it to be *all wrong and false*, and that till we correct this Notion of the Subordination and Inferiority of the Son, *as Son*, we shall never have right Apprehensions concerning the *Glorious Trinity*. This is his Opinion; wherein he opposeth not only Dr. *Clarke*, but the most eminent Witnesses and Defenders of the *Nicene Faith*, ancient and modern. But this he doth because he is persuaded, that all of them have been mistaken by the Misapplication of the common and received Notion of *Paternity* and *Filiation*, in the Translation of these from *Man* to *God*. For, saith he, * "Those "first Writers found, that the Communicati- "on of the Divinity from the *first* Person to the "*second*, was expressed in Scripture by *Gene-* "*ration* and *Begetting*: And they were sen- "sible, that a Father is not subordinate to his "Son, but the Son to the Father, and that he "who is *begotten*, is inferiour to him that *be-* "*gets*; which they applied to God the Fa- "ther and his Son. This is readily acknow-

* p. 20, 21.

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ledged; but then withal, it ought to be conſidered, that according to theſe very Writers, there is an Inferiority of *Order* or *Diſpenſation*, and an Inferiority of *Nature* or of *Subſtance*; which diſtinction muſt carefully be attended to, becauſe many of them, who own the former with reſpect to the *Son of God*, do yet moſt ſtrenuouſly oppugn the latter. This however he concludeth to have been the *Riſe and Ground of the erroneous and dangerous Opinion of the Son's being* Inferiour *to the Father*; without taking any notice of that Diſtinction, which is ſo common in them. Whereupon he inferreth, "* That thoſe very learned and worthy Prelates, "Biſhop *Pearſon* and Biſhop *Bull*, with other "modern Divines, have hurt the Doctrine of "the Trinity by liſt'ning to theſe Writers, "and by urging the Inferiority of the Son to "the Father, in reſpect of his Divinity. And further, he ſaith, that, "Mr. *Whiſton* and Dr. "*Clarke*, have laid hold on thoſe Writings, "and have made the Son of God, a mere de-"pendent Being, and not worthy to be ſtiled "a *God*. But if Mr. *Whiſton* and Dr. *Clarke* have thus laid hold of theſe Writings, they have laid hold on the Scriptures alſo. Let the Writings of theſe two worthy Prelates be heard for themſelves, and there will be but little reaſon found for the boaſting of ſuch, as depreſs the real Divinity of the Son of God: And let the Scriptures, as interpreted by the Catholick Rule of Antiquity, be heard like-

* Ibid.

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wiſe for them in this Cauſe. This I hope will not be denied by any, being a Requeſt ſo reaſonable in it ſelf: And if granted, I do not much doubt of the Succeſs, though there ſhould be ſeveral Prejudices here to grapple with. For nothing can ever be more plain ſurely from that whole * Chapter of our Author, which treateth diſtinctly of this very Subject, than the great and manifeſt Difference that there is, betwixt *Order* and *Subſtance*, with reſpect to the Perſons of the Father and the Son in the Bleſſed Trinity; for as much as there is a gradation of one but not of the other, according to the moſt Primitive, and Catholick Tradition of the Faith: And that the very ſame Fathers who are ſo plain and expreſs for the former, and even ſo far as thence to be challenged by the Adverſaries of the Catholick Faith, out of a miſtaken Apprehenſion of their true and genuine Senſe; are generally expreſs againſt the latter. This is made moſt clear in *Juſtin Martyr*; in whom ſome ſeeming Contradictions are hereby very eaſily to be reconciled, as our Author in that Chapter ſheweth. Thus alſo *Irenæus*, who confeſſeth the Father's Prerogative, and the Son's Subordination in the fulleſt Terms, diſputeth yet, with the *Valentinians*, againſt this Notion of the Inferiority and Inequality of the *Logos* to the Father; and when he diſtinguiſheth betwixt the

* Sect. iv. Cap. 11.

Logos

Logos and the *Creatures*, he maketh the Difference herein chiefly to consist, that no Creature can be *equal to its Maker*, thereby manifestly signifying, that the Word, or Son of God, must needs be altogether equal to God his Father, as to his Nature; whence also he pronounceth them to be exactly *commensurate* with each other, without any manner of Diminution whatsoever, and chargeth them with blindness who do not see this Truth. Thus also *Clement* of *Alexandria*, thus *Tertullian*, thus *Origen*, thus *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, before the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy: Thus *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, and his Successor *Athanasius*, upon the Rise of it, as plainly as Words can express: Thus afterwards, in the Progress of this Controversy, *Basil* the Great, thus *Nazianzen*, thus *Chrysostome*, thus *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *John Damascen* among the *Greek* Writers; Thus *Marius Victorinus*, thus *Hilary*, thus *Augustin*, and others among the *Latin* Fathers, have all written to the same purpose, as our Author hath at large proved. Nay, it is more than a little observable, that even those very Ancients, which by Dr. *Edwards* are taxed for having misled into Error, the most eminent Divines of this last Age, do abundantly herein clear themselves, according to the Report which he himself hath given us of them, at the very time that he is disputing against the Thesis of the Son's Subordination, as it is explained and defended in this Treatise by our

excellent Author. For it must be owned, that he hath brought out of them several illustrious Testimonies, which shew, that notwithstanding they asserted the same Subordination with these two great Men of our Church, yet they never asserted it so, as to deny that Supremacy, which belongs to the Son as well as his Father; but on the contrary taught, that the very Notion of Supremacy is necessarily included in that of the Deity, and that *God cannot excel God*, nor one of the divine Persons be inferiour to the other, as to the divine Being and Nature; but that there is one Deity and Power in them, not unequal as to their Substances and Natures, neither increased by any Superexcellencies, nor decreased by any Diminutions, but every way equal and the same; notwithstanding that diversity of *Dispensation*, and of *Order*, which the same Witnesses bear record of, as delivered to them from the Beginning. So that from the Review of what these several Writers have advanced, and of the great pains they have been at, in collecting such a Number of ancient Testimonies to support their several Hypotheses, it will evidently appear, that notwithstanding what the Holy Scriptures and the Catholick Fathers have delivered down to us concerning the Unity and Identity of the Blessed Trinity as to its Essence, yet they always suppose and assert, the Difference of the Personalities in the Godhead, and consequently the Difference

of *Order*, with the diversity of Operations. And thus the Charge of Dr. *Edwards*, through the sides of Dr. *Clarke*, against this famous Defender of the Primitive Faith, falleth to the ground.

LXI.

Of Dr. Cudworth and Dr. Sherlock: and their Schemes compared with this Author.

But it is not to be wondred at, if from the first Publication of this learned *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and ever since, there have been various Sentiments concerning it among the Learned, accordingly as they have been differently affected or instructed. For the most learned Author of the *Intellectual System*, Dr. *Cudworth*, having professedly maintained, that the three Persons of the Trinity are three distinct spiritual Substances, but that the Father alone is truly and properly God, that he alone in the proper Sense is Supreme, that absolute supreme Honour is due to him only, and that he, absolutely speaking, is the only God of the Universe; the Son and Spirit being God, but only by the Father's Concurrence with them, and their Subordination and Subjection to him; this awakened a Suspicion in some, that Mr. *Bull* was Dr. *Cudworth*'s Second in this Cause: and Dr. *Sherlock*, having afterwards directly maintained, that there are three infinite distinct *Minds* and *Substances* in the Trinity, and that the three Persons of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are so many infinite Minds or Spirits; which he endeavoured also to explain, according to the Principles of the *Cartesian*

Metaphysicks; a Storm being thereupon raised in the Church, and his Opinion condemned by a great many as false, heretical and impious, it could not be avoided, but some Drops fell upon the Head of Mr. *Bull* also, or rather rebounded from Dr. *Sherlock* upon him; none being very willing directly to meddle with one, that had so honourably acquitted himself, his very Enemies being Judges, and who was so strongly fenced in, that there was no getting at him, but by cutting through a whole Troop of Veterans. But all considering Readers easily discerned, that though he asserted three Real, Distinct, Coequal, Coeternal Persons, (not in one singular and solitary, but) in one numerical Nature and Essence, not taking away the Subordination of the second and third to the first Person; yet he did neither own the Platonick Inequality of Dr. *Cudworth*, nor the *Sabellian* Composition and Union of others, nor the Novel and Philosophical Explications of Dr. *Sherlock*. Dr. *Cudworth* had asserted the Son to be God, in the very same Sense which Dr. *Clarke* hath done: And that the Son and Spirit may have the divine Attributes, such as Omnipotence, Omniscience, and the rest ascribed to them; But that they are not Omnipotent and Omniscient, *ad intra*, of themselves, (and so of the rest) but only by means of the Father's Concurrence. Also Dr. *Sherlock* had introduced new Terms without, and against the Authority of the Church, and had

had mixed Philoſophy with Divinity, in a Matter not to be decided, but by Revelation only; and ſo expreſſed himſelf, as to ſeem to deſtroy the Unity of the Deity, and to make himſelf ſuſpected of Tritheiſm by more than a few; Though our learned Author in his *Diſcourſe of the Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. ſeems to clear him from that Charge. And beſides theſe, ſeveral others were for framing Schemes out of their own Heads, concerning this ineffable Myſtery, and ſo departed from the old trodden way, which is ſo plainly deſcribed in this excellent Treatiſe.

How Adverſaries as well as Friends applauded this Performance,

But notwithſtanding all this, it was no ſooner printed at *Oxford*, but it was received with an univerſal Applauſe, as it greatly deſerved: And the Fame thereof ſoon ſpread it ſelf into foreign Parts, where it was highly valued by the beſt Judges of Antiquity, though of different Perſwaſions. Hence an Unitarian Writer, who calleth himſelf a *diſintereſted Perſon*, though he hath given his *Judgment* againſt it, with all the Strength and Learning that he was Maſter of, yet was obliged by the irreſiſtible Evidence of Truth, to give this following Character, both of the Book and Author, *viz.* "* After Dr. *Cudworth*, came Dr. *Bull*, Au- " thor of the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, a

* *The Judgment of a diſintereſted Perſon, concerning the Controverſie about the Bleſſed Trinity, depending between Dr.* South *and Dr.* Sherlock, *4to.* An. 1696.

" Book that has rendered the Writer of it very " famous, not in *England* only or chiefly, but " beyond the Water. 'Tis compoſed in a Stile " moſt truly *Latin*, with much vivacity of " Expreſſion, with great vigour and ſubtilty " of Thought: In ſhort, 'tis worthy of the " noble Argument, of which he treats. This " Author having ſtudied the Fathers with an " Application, Diligence and Obſervation, al- " moſt peculiar to *him*, perceived that the " Schools have departed from that Notion of " the Trinity, believed and profeſſed by ſome " of the principal Fathers. Thus far he: which was ſurely Confeſſion enough from an Enemy. But the Anſwerer of this Socinian Pamphlet, who is ſuppoſed to be Dr. *Sherlock* himſelf, in a Diſcourſe entituled, *The Diſtinction between Real and Nominal Trinitarians examined*, &c. hath made this Reflection hereupon; that this was done out of pure Artifice only, not out of any Good Will for our Author, or Diſintereſtedneſs between the two contending Parties, but " *That all that this " Socinian intended by bringing Dr. *Bull* into " the Fray, was to follow the Blow the Ani- " madverter, [Dr. *South*] and the *Oxford* De- " cree had given to a *Trinity of diſtinct, pro- " per, ſubſiſting, living, intelligent Perſons.* " (which is all that Dr. *Bull*, or the Dean " aſſert) by their Charge of *Tritheiſm*, which

* Page 4.

" he

" he hoped, would be a sufficient Answer, to " that otherwise unanswerable Book; and to- " gether with Dr. *Bull* would confute all the " Fathers at once, on whose Authority he so " much relies, and to whom he perpetually " appeals; for no Christian must hearken to " those Men, whatever their Authority be, " did they really (as they are unjustly char- " ged) preach three Gods; and thus he thinks " he has got rid of all Antiquity, and of the " *Tritheistick Trinity* with it. But whatso- ever might be his Design, and this seems very probable which here is alledged against him, it must still be confessed, that nothing but the Truth forced this Character from him. And indeed, this Book was so universally applaud- ed, that it brought over to the Author, several who were before his Enemies, or that at least were doubtful, whether he was orthodox in the Faith. The University of *Oxford* account- ed it an Honour to them, to have so learned and useful a Treatise printed at their Press, and written by one who had been formerly a Member of their Body, but was driven away by the Wickedness of the Times, as hath been already remarked. Wherefore they thought it incumbent upon them, to confer what Honour they could upon him, as shall be afterwards re- lated, who by this judicious and elaborate De- fence of the Catholick Faith, had contribu- ted so much to the Honour, not only of the University it self, but of the Church

and Nation, in foreign Churches and Nations.

LXII. *The Bishop of* Meaux *sends* Monsieur Jurieu *to Dr.* Bull, *for the Sense of the Fathers about the Trinity.*

In the Year 1690, the Bishop of *Meaux*, whose *History of the Variations*, &c. had been attacked in Defence of the Protestants, (but especially of the *French* Calvinists) by Monsieur *Jurieu*, with too little Deference to the primitive Fathers of the Church, set forth a Discourse against this his Adversary, on purpose to prove, that his way of proceeding did effectually tend to the very undermining of Christianity, or at least to the Establishment of Socinianism; and that it was a Method condemned, not only by the Roman Catholicks, but by the most judicious Protestant Writers, such as Dr. *Bull* in particular. And having in his aforesaid History, made honourable mention of our most learned Author, as before was taken notice of; he upon this fresh Occasion, frequently maketh his Appeal to him, and sendeth his Readers to satisfie themselves, in the Collection of Testimonies gathered by him out of the Fathers. In one place, he saith, "That I may have no occasion, my "Brethren, to defend against you, the Do"ctrine of the first Ages, concerning the eter"nal Generation of the Son, if your Minister "hath any doubt hereof, and is not willing "to read the learned Treatises of a * Fa-

* Dogmata Theolog. Thomass. Tom. iii.

"ther

" ther *Thomassin*, who so profoundly explains " the ancient Traditions, or the learned Preface " of a * Father *Petau*, which is the Elucida- " tion and Key of his whole Doctrine, con- " cerning this Matter, I send him to " † *BULL*, that learned *English* Protestant, " the Treatise, where he hath so well de- " fended the Fathers, who lived before the " Council of *Nice*. You must either renounce " the Faith of the Holy Trinity, which God " forbid, or presuppose with me that this Au- " thor hath Reason. For *Monsieur Jurieu*, by endeavouring to find *Variations* in the ancient Fathers, and treading in the Steps of *Dailée*, did the Cause of Christianity in general more hurt, than he did his own good by it. For if, according to him, the Primitive Christians did not believe || the Eternity of the Son, or the Immutability of the Divine Essence, or the Equality of the Second and Third Persons with the First, or the Coeternity of them all Three, or if they were so ignorant of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and knew not even the Unity and Perfection of God, known to the very Pagans by the Light of Nature, and were so far from understanding the Scriptures that they did not read them; and if they, even the most famous Fathers of the three first Centuries, were

* Petav. Pref. Tom. ii. Theolog. Dogm. † Premier Avertisement aux Protestants sur les Lettres du Ministre Jurieu contre *L'Histoire des Variations*. §. xxv. || Sect. 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16,

such

ſuch poor and paultry Divines as he repreſents them, and could be guilty, not only of ſuch groſs Ignorance, but alſo of the moſt capital Errors and Hereſies, there muſt ſoon be an End of Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine, and all muſt terminate in Deiſm or natural Religion. For Confutation therefore of all theſe heavy Charges againſt theſe ancient Witneſſes of our Religion, the learned and judicious Defence of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* by this our Author, is rightly appealed to, for the ſake of our common Chriſtianity, in which all equally are concerned.

An Inſtance how much Dr. Bull's *Book was eſteemed by Romaniſts and Proteſtants.*

But here it is very remarkable, that our Author's Book was in ſuch Eſteem abroad, both with Romaniſts and Proteſtants, that even *Monſieur Jurieu* himſelf, contended no leſs than the Biſhop his Adverſary, to have him on his ſide, ſaying, *that* Bull's *Obſervations and his, were as like as an Egg to an Egg*, concerning the Generation of the Son of God. But the Biſhop of *Meaux* replied to *Monſieur Jurieu*, that without entring into all the Particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the Biſhop, had *taken from him in one word all the Ancients by ſending him to* BULL; as from whom he might *learn the true Explication of all their Paſſages*. This he did in his very *firſt Advertiſement*, written againſt this famous *French* Miniſter and Refugee. But *Jurieu* cared not it ſeems to confeſs, that either our Author was favourable to the ſide of his Adverſary

ſary in this Diſpute, or that ſo learned a Proteſtant as Dr. *Bull*, ſhould carry away from him all his Authors together at once, without leaving him ſo much as one of them: And therefore would pretend in his *Avis a M. Beauval*, that there was the neareſt Agreement betwixt his and our Author's Sentiments, as to all theſe Matters, but more particularly as to the Theology of the Fathers, concerning the Nativity, and coming forth of the Son of God, for the Creation of the World. Whereby he moſt evidently injured Dr. *Bull*, and at the ſame time alſo expoſed himſelf to his Adverſary, when there was no need for it.

LXIII.

Mr. Bull twenty ſeven Years Rector of Suddington.

Mr. *Bull* wrote and publiſhed this his learned and judicious Treatiſe, of the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, during the time he was Rector of *Suddington*, where he had now continued about twenty ſeven Years, and for twenty Years of that time had no other Preferment in the Church, but thoſe two Pariſhes united, after the manner that hath been already related; the Income whereof, did not amount to above 100*l.* a Year, clear of Taxes. He found himſelf very early under a neceſſity of making ſuch a Proviſion of Books, as might enable him to carry on his Theological Studies, which coſt him ſeveral hundred Pounds, for he was placed at a diſtance from any publick Library, which is a great Advantage to thoſe who can enjoy ſuch a Benefit. His Family grew

grew numerous by a large Stock of Children, who were to be maintained and educated, his Friends were always received with great Hospitality, and the Poor with a Charity that bordered upon Profuseness, with all this he had several great Losses, and had no great Talent in that Wisdom, which consisteth in managing an Estate to the best Advantage; by these Means he was reduced to great Streights, and by degrees, was under a Necessity of selling his patrimonial Estate, to maintain himself in the Service of the Church. But yet his difficult Circumstances, never prevailed upon him to trouble the World with Complaints concerning them, neither did he abandon himself to Discontent, which upon such Occasions preyeth upon worldly Minds; none of these things moved him, from pursuing his great Design of serving the Church of God, and adorning his Profession; and it pleased the good Providence of God, remarkably to reward his Christian Trust and Affiance, for when he was at the lowest Ebb, he was unexpectedly preferred to a very good Living.

Preferred to Avening *in* Glocestershire.

It was in the Year 1685, when Mr. *Bull* was presented to the Rectory of *Avening* in *Glocestershire*, a large Parish, about eight Miles in compass, the Income whereof is about 200 a Year. The Patron of it is *Philip Sheppard* of *Minching Hampton*, Esq; a very worthy Gentleman, eminent for his Probity, Sobriety and Charity, and for his great Usefulness in his Coun-

Country; for he not only adminiſters Juſtice with great Impartiality, but endeavoureth to reconcile all Quarrels and Diſſentions among his Neighbours, before they break into a Flame, and before his Neighbours loſe their Mony and their Temper in legal Proſecutions, in which commonly they both ſuffer. It happened, that when this Living became vacant, Mr. *Sheppard* and Mr. *Bull*, with ſome other Friends, were at *Aſtrop-Wells* in *Oxfordſhire*, drinking thoſe Mineral Waters for the Advantage of their Health; and they were even together with ſome other Gentlemen, when Mr. *Sheppard* received the News of it. Upon which he acquainted the Company, that he had a very good Living to diſpoſe of, and reckoned up all thoſe Quaiifications he expected in the Perſon, upon whom he ſhould beſtow it; which ſo exactly agreed to Mr. *Bull*'s Character, that every one preſent plainly perceived, that Mr. *Sheppard* deſigned to determine that Preferment in Mr. *Bull*'s favour. But he had too much Humility to make the Application to himſelf, and therefore took not the leaſt notice of it. Some time after, Mr. *Bull* withdrew with ſome of the Company to walk in the Garden, which Opportunity Mr. *Sheppard* took to declare, that he had on purpoſe given thoſe Hints, that Mr. *Bull* might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his Modeſty was too great to make that Step, he was reſolved to offer it to him, who had more

Merit

Merit to deſerve it, than aſſurance to ask for it; which accordingly he did, as ſoon as Mr. *Bull* returned into the Room; which he received with all thoſe Acknowledgments, which were due for ſo good a Living to ſo generous a Patron.

His natural Modeſty where his Intereſt was concerned.

And here it will not be improper to obſerve, that Mr. *Bull* had in his natural Temper, a great Modeſty, and backwardneſs in ſtirring for his ſecular Intereſt; he endeavered to deſerve Preferments, rather than to ſolicite for them; and his Mind was ſo entirely taken up in his Studies, and in the Diſcharge of his paſtoral Duties that he never found leiſure to form Schemes for his own Advancement, and much leſs time to proſecute thoſe Methods, which are too frequently ſubmitted to, in order to obtain it. He often thanked God for this happy Diſpoſition that was placed in him, which he ſaid had guarded him from many Attempts, very unbecoming his holy Function, and had ſecured to him great Peace of Mind, in the poſſeſſion of what he enjoyed in the Church, which he ſaid, divine Providence alone, and not his Application, had procured for him. This he looked upon as the true Chriſtian Primitive way of being preferred, VIRTUTE AMBIRE NON FAVITORIBUS; and whenever he met with this modeſt and conſcientious Temper, he encouraged the Perſon ſteadily to purſue his Duty, and to depend upon God.

Upon

Upon his removing to *Avening*, one of his first Cares was to rebuild the Parsonage House, part whereof had been burnt down, some time before he became Incumbent. This Expence was very hard upon a Person who was never before-hand with the World; but being necessary for the Conveniency of his Family, and the Benefit of his Successors, he chearfully engaged in it. The People of his Parish gave Mr. *Bull*, for some time, great Trouble and Uneasiness; there were many of them very loose and dissolute, and many more disaffected to the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church of *England*. This State and Condition of the Parish did not discourage Mr. *Bull* from doing his Duty, though it occasioned him many difficulties in the Discharge of it; and he suffered many Indignities and Reproaches, with admirable Patience and Christian Fortitude, for not complying with those irregular Practices, which had too long prevailed among them. But by Steadiness and Resolution, in performing his holy Function according to the Rubrick, by his patient Demeanour and prudent Carriage, by his readiness to do them all Offices of kindness, and particularly by his great Charity to the Poor, who in that place were very numerous; he did in the End remove all those Prejudices which they had entertained against him, and reduced them to such a Temper, as rendred his Labours effectual among them. In so much, that they generally became constant

The State and Condition of the Parish when he entered upon it.

in

in their Attendance upon the publick Worſhip, and very decent in their Behaviour at it; and what was effected with the greateſt Difficulty, they brought their Children to be baptized at Church; for when all other Arguments failed, the Aſſurance he gave them, that this was the Practice of the Reformed Churches, perſwaded them to comply without any farther Scruple. Indeed the People by degrees, perceiving that he had no Deſign upon them but their own good, of which they frequently experimented ſeveral Inſtances, their Averſion was changed into Love and Kindneſs; and though at his firſt coming among them, they expreſſed a great deal of Animoſity and Diſreſpect to his Perſon and Family, yet many Years before he left them, they ſeemed highly ſenſible of their Error, and gave many ſignal Proofs of their hearty Good-Will towards him and them; and when he was promoted from this Pariſh to the Biſhoprick of St. *David*, no People could teſtifie more Concern and Sorrow, than the Pariſhioners did upon this Occaſion, for the loſs of thoſe Advantages which they enjoyed by his living among them. And I am credibly informed, that to this Day, they never name him without Expreſſions of Gratitude and Reſpect.

He keeps a Curate, and his manner of uſing him.

For ſome time before his coming to *Avening*, he had made uſe of a Curate to aſſiſt him in his Parochial Duties; but that Help became now much more neceſſary, by reaſon of the large

largeness of his Parish, and the ill state of his Health, which he had very much impaired by his Night Studies, in which he had taken great delight during the Vigour of his Age. Yet notwithstanding this Assistance, except he was prevented by Sickness, he preached once every Lord's Day, and read the Prayers frequently himself the other part of the Day, when his Curate preached. He chose to divide after this manner the publick Administrations, that the People might not entertain a mean Opinion of his Curates, as if they were not qualified for the Duties of the Pulpit; and that they might have better Thoughts of our excellent Liturgy, when they saw the Parochial Minister officiate himself. He very frequently condemned the *wicked Practice* (as he called it) of those Incumbents, who by their Pride, Selfishness or Neglect, give countenance to those fatal Mistakes among the People. There was one Use indeed he made of a Curate, which will appear surprizing, because I believe seldom or never practised, and that was to admonish him of his Faults; the Proposal was from himself, that they might agree from that time, to tell one another freely, in love and privacy, what they observed amiss in each other: It is certain, this might help to regulate the Conduct of his own Life; but it had this peculiar Advantage, that it gave him a handle to find fault without Offence, with any thing that appeared wrong in his Curate;

for when the Liberty was mutual, neither of them could be blamed for the uſe of it. I relate this Circumſtance with the more certainty, becauſe I received the Information of it from the worthy Clergyman himſelf who was then his Curate, and with whom this Agreement was made.

LXIV. He had not been long at *Avening*, before he was preferred to the Archdeaconry of *Landaff*; for it appeareth by the Regiſter Book of the Chapter of that Church, that Mr. *Bull* was inſtalled Archdeacon the 20th of *June* 1686. This conſiderable Poſt in the Church was beſtowed upon him by Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, whoſe Option it was; and purely in conſideration of the great and eminent Services he had done the Church of God, by his learned and judicious Works, as Dr. *Bately*, his Grace's Chaplain expreſſed it, in a Letter writ to Mr. *Bull*, by the order of his Lord. The manner of Mr. *Bull*'s receiving this honourable Station in the Church, added very much to his Reputation, becauſe it was conferred upon him by an Archbiſhop, who had a particular Regard to the Merit of thoſe he advanced, without any Solicitation or Application made by Mr. *Bull* himſelf.

Mr. Bull *preferred by Archbiſhop* Sancroft, *to the Archdeaconry of* Landaff, *being his Grace's Option.*

His Grace's Character.

And indeed what could be expected leſs from ſo venerable a Prelate, who had all thoſe great Abilities of Learning and Wiſdom, of Piety and Integrity, joined with a prudent Zeal for

for the Honour of God, and the Welfare and Proſperity of the Church, which qualified him for that elevated Station wherein the Providence of God had placed him; and yet at the ſame time was endowed with ſuch large Meaſures of Mortification and Self-denial, contempt of the World and paſſive Courage, as enabled him, by the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace, with great Compoſure of Mind, to ſubmit *to be deprived of all which he could not keep with a good Conſcience*, as it is expreſſed on the left ſide of his Tomb, by his Grace's Order. And it is affirmed by thoſe who had the Honour to be better acquainted with him than I was, "That the moſt greedy Worldling "never enjoy'd half that ſolid Complacency "in the moſt lucky and fortunate Acquiſitions, "as his Grace did, in being reduced to the "mean Circumſtances of a private Life. For after his Deprivation, he retired into the Country, the Place of his Nativity, at *Freſingfield* in *Suffolk*, where full of Piety and good Works, as well as Years, he died the 24th of *November* 1693, in the 77th Year of his Age, and was buried in the Church-yard of the aforeſaid Pariſh, againſt the South Wall of the Church by his own Appointment. It is certain that this great Man, had in his very Youth been ſeaſoned with Sufferings; and in the flower of his Age he refuſed both the Covenant and the Engagement; the taking of which were in thoſe Times neceſſary Steps to Pre-

ferment; though one Oath was deſigned to propagate Rebellion, and to deſtroy the Church, and the other to ſupport a cruel Uſurpation. But he choſe to relinquiſh his Intereſt in his native Country, and ſubmitted to a voluntary Exile, rather than advance himſelf by the Rewards of Ungodlineſs, and own an unjuſt Power. His Virtue was uniform and of a piece; for when he was in his greateſt Elevation, he declined the Commands of his lawful and rightful Prince, rather than obey him, to the prejudice of the true Religion and the eſtabliſhed Laws, which are certainly the Meaſures of the Subject's Obedience; yet he would not reſiſt his Sovereign to ſave both, becauſe he apprehended, the Laws of the Land, as well as the Precepts of the Goſpel, expreſly forbid it; and choſe rather the Expulſion from all his Honours and Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, than violate his Conſcience, or ſtain the Purity of thoſe Principles which he had always maintained and defended.

The Nature of an Option.

Having mentioned this Preferment of the Archdeaconry of *Landaff*, as the Archbiſhop's Option, I hope it will not be thought improper to add ſomething concerning the Nature of this Archiepiſcopal Privilege, for the ſake of ſuch Readers as are not much verſed in Matters of this nature; and becauſe I have met with none of thoſe Writers who treat of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, that have touched upon it.

And

And I the rather chuſe to inſert it here, becauſe I owe the Knowledge I ſhall advance upon this Subject to a Converſation of Archbiſhop *Sancroft's*, who is well known to have been admirably skilled in Matters of this kind; though if the Learned ſhall diſcover any Blemiſhes or Miſtakes, in what I am about to relate in this Matter, I am very willing to challenge them as my own; for they are certainly due to the imperfect manner of receiving, what was without doubt delivered with great Judgment and Exactneſs. To explain therefore this Privilege, the Reader muſt know, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath a Right, upon the Promotion of every Biſhop in his Grace's Province, to chuſe any one Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, Prebend, or Benefice in that Dioceſe, which is called the Archbiſhop's Option; which is even at the Diſpoſal of the Executors of the Archbiſhop, if the Biſhop that is promoted doth not die before the Option becometh vacant. This Prerogative is built upon immemorial Cuſtom; it having been found by Archbiſhop *Sancroft* ſo acknowledged, in Deeds dated above three hundred Years ago. The ground of this Right was, the Power the Archbiſhop had to impoſe two Perſons of his own Choice, upon any of his Suffragans for their Chaplains, upon their Conſecration; which Perſons, the reſpective Biſhops at firſt were obliged to maintain, by allowing them Penſions, till they could ſup-

ply them with Preferments out of their own Dioceſſes. This was looked upon as a great Grievance to the Biſhops, and an increaſe of that neceſſary Charge which attends their Promotion; and theſe Penſions were accounted a heavy Burthen, becauſe the Biſhops were forced to part with their ready Mony to ſupport Strangers. The Complaints of this matter being very frequent, it was at laſt accommodated after this manner, *viz.* That the Biſhop ſhould by Deed, grant to the Archbiſhop, ſuch a Benefice or Dignity in his Dioceſs as he ſhould name; but this Grant did only bind the Biſhop who made it, and not his Succeſſors. To remove and ſupply this Defect, Archbiſhop *Grindal* did agree with the Biſhops, that they ſhould make a Grant for one and twenty Years, but then, if that Preferment did not fall vacant in that time, the Grant was of no effect. Archbiſhop *Whitgift* carried this Affair ſtill farther, and brought the Biſhops to inſert at leaſt half a ſcore Preferments in their Grants, reſerving to himſelf a Liberty to fix upon the firſt that became vacant. But after the Statute of Limitation of Grants in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the Method now eſtabliſhed ſeems to have taken place.

The Degree of Doctor *conferred on Mr.* Bull *by the Univerſity of* Oxford.

While Mr. *Bull* was at *Landaff*, upon the Nomination of Biſhop *Fell*, who thought it a ſhame that ſuch a Man ſhould be ſuffered to lie any longer in obſcurity, without any publick Notice taken of, or Character conferred upon

upon him, it was moved in a full Convocation at *Oxford*, by the *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity, Dr. *Jane*, That as an Acknowledgment of the ſingular Honour done that Univerſity, and of the laſting Service done to the whole Church by Mr. *George Bull*, through his excellent Book of, *Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ*, lately printed and publiſhed among them; and for a perpetual Teſtimony of their Eſteem and Favour for a Perſon of his Merits, he ſhould be admitted preſently to the Degree and Title of a Doctor in Divinity, notwithſtanding that he had never taken any Academical Degree, not ſo much as in Arts. To which the Convocation of that learned Body moſt readily conſented, not being able to refuſe, to one who had ſo admirably defended the ancient Doctors of the Catholick Church, an honorary Title, which had been deſerved by him on more than one Account; and the conferring whereof would be no leſs honourable to themſelves than to him, by allowing him a Name in their *Faſti*, among the *modern* Doctors of the *Anglican Church*, which the univerſal Suffrage of the learned World, muſt even without this their authentick Declaration, have advanced him unto. Whereupon the Biſhop writ a Letter, to thank Mr. *Bull* for the noble Preſent he had made him in that immortal Work, and to acquaint him at the ſame time with the Honour which the Univerſity deſigned him: And the Profeſſor writ alſo another Letter to

him, giving him an account of what had paſſed in Convocation, with reſpect to him, in conſideration of his great and eminent Service for the Church by his laſt Book; and preſſing him to come therefore to *Oxford*, that he might there receive the Tokens of their Eſteem, and be admitted to the higheſt Degree of Honour, that was in their Power to confer on any. Mr. *Bull* received theſe Letters at *Landaff*, where he had juſt taken Poſſeſſion of the Archdeaconry, which Archbiſhop *Sancroft* had beſtowed upon him; whereupon he came to *Oxford* about the beginning of *July*, that he might be preſent at the Act, in order for perfecting the ſaid Degree; and upon the tenth of the ſaid Month, was created Doctor, in the Year MDCLXXXVI, without the Payment of the uſual Fees.

LXV. *He eſtabliſhes a Sermon on* Thurſday *in every Week, with Catechiſing.*

I have already, in other parts of this Life, given ſo particular an Account of Dr. *Bull*'s Method in governing his Pariſh, and of his Manner in performing the Duties of his Holy Function, that it is not neceſſary to add any thing upon that Subject, farther than what of that Nature appears to have been peculiar to his Conduct at *Avening*. Now the State and Condition of that Pariſh, having been as I have before related; one Means he fixed upon in order to reform it, was to have a Sermon in his Church every *Thurſday*; the Deſign whereof was, farther to inſtruct the People, who were very

very ignorant, in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; a Method which was not unlikely to prevail upon them. For when they found him ſo zealous, as to do more than they thought he was obliged to, they were ready to conclude, that their Welfare was the great Motive which influenced him; and to make this more effectual, the Children were on the ſame Day catechized by the Curate, which ſtill tended to the Inſtruction of thoſe of riper Years: And yet, to bring this good Deſign to a greater Perfection, he always diſtributed on ſuch Days five Shillings among the Poor, that they might be encouraged to attend the Church at ſuch Seaſons. How long he continued this Practice it is not very certain, though there is no doubt but that he purſued it for ſome time.

Very ſcrupulous in ſigning Teſtimonials.

It is required by the 34th Canon, that the Candidates of Holy Orders, among other Preliminaries neceſſary for Ordination, ſhall bring ſufficient Teſtimonials of their ſober Life and Converſation, from ſuch as have known and lived near them for three Years before. Now upon this account there was frequent Application made to Dr. *Bull*, during his Reſidence in this Pariſh, and for ſome time before, to procure his Hand to Teſtimonials; for his Fame and Reputation were become ſo conſiderable, that the Characters he gave, had great weight with thoſe to whom they were addreſt. But he was very nice as to this Particular; many

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he refuſed who importuned him for his Recommendation, and he took ſome pains to ſatisfie himſelf, before he would pretend to ſatisfie others. It hath been rightly obſerved by my Lord *Bacon*, " That nothing is thought ſo " eaſie a Requeſt to a Great Perſon, as his " Letter, and yet if it be not in a good Cauſe, " it is ſo much out of his Reputation. For either it reflects upon his Underſtanding, if he maketh a wrong Judgment; and if he knoweth that the Perſon doth not deſerve the Character given him, he is certainly liable to a worſe Cenſure. But where the Church is concerned, the Conſequences are much more fatal; and therefore it is to be wiſhed, that all Perſons who are applied to upon this account to ſign Teſtimonials, would be very conſcientious in this Matter; that ſo a good Method may not be rendered ineffectual, by a very miſchievous Complaiſance, of which a ſtrict Account muſt be given at the laſt Day, ſince Biſhops the beſt diſpoſed to do their Duty, may be impoſed upon by eminent Hands.

He ſuppreſſes the Obſervation of a Wake in his Pariſh.

One great Conteſt he had with the diſorderly People of *Aveling*, related to the obſervation of a Feaſt, which was attended the Day following with extravagant Revels. It is true, that the Piety of our Anceſtors did ſet a-part one Day in every Year, to commemorate the Dedication of the publick Place of Worſhip, and every Church almoſt had its Anniverſary; and good Laws were enacted, that they might

might be both ſolemnly and orderly kept. Theſe Days thus eſtabliſhed, were called *Wakes* from the Saxon Word, which ſignifies to *watch*. But the Obſervation of them degenerating into Luxury, they grew very grievous to all ſober People, and the good Reaſon of their Inſtitution, did not make amends for the obſtinate Abuſe of them. In order to rectifie theſe Diſorders, Dr. *Bull* appeared againſt them in the Pulpit, and expoſed the Folly and Madneſs of them, with a true Chriſtian Courage, for he did not fear to diſpleaſe Men, when the Honour of God, and the Good of Souls were at ſtake. But when neither his Inſtructions nor his Exhortations, both in publick and private, could prevail upon the Generality of them to obſerve that Regularity, which the Laws of Chriſtianity require from all its Profeſſors, he procured an Order of Seſſions to ſuppreſs it; which effectually put an End to it many Years before he left the Place; but it coſt him much Time and Labour; though it was uſual with him, never to give over any thing of that Nature, till he had attained the good End he at firſt propoſed.

He preaches againſt Popery in the Reign of King James.

During the Reign of King *James* the IId, when our Apprehenſions of the increaſe of Popery were no ways groundleſs, but founded in thoſe Meaſures, which we apparently ſaw were taken to advance and promote it; then it was that Dr. *Bull* thought it his Duty, chiefly

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to lay open the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and he then took all Opportunities, both in his own Parish, and in other publick Places where he was called to preach, as at *Bath* and *Glocester*, and in a Visitation Sermon at *Hampton*, to convince the People how much they would hazard their Salvation, if ever they suffered themselves by sly Arts and Insinuations, to be drawn into the *Roman* Communion; wherein they had made many Additions to the primitive Doctrines of Christianity, and had required their Novelties to be received, as necessary Articles of Faith, though the holy Scriptures and primitive Antiquity were silent concerning them, and in some Points expressly against them. These Errors in Doctrine he aggravated by considerable Corruptions in her publick Offices; which were not only in an unknown Tongue, and consequently no ways edifying to the People, but in some Parts were addressed to Saints and Angels, contrary to Scripture, and the Practice of the primitive Church. It must be owned, that Dr. *Bull* was indeed a very frank Assertor of some primitive Truths, upon which are built several Errors of the Church of *Rome*; and the Sermons, which are now printed, will furnish the Reader with several Instances of this Remark: Now among those who cannot, or will not distinguish the Foundation, from the Hay and Stubble that is built upon it, we must not wonder, if he was thought too much inclining to

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the Church of *Rome*; which unjust Censure was confirmed by his exact Conformity to the Rules of the Church of *England*, in a place where the People were under great Prejudices, both against her Discipline and Liturgy. But this Calumny hath been thrown upon the greatest Lights of our Church, and upon one of the best Men that ever swayed the Scepter of *Great Britain*, and will be the Fate of many more, who shall zealously contend, for the primitive Doctrines and Discipline of Christianity; and surely, if that excellent Prince, King *Charles* the First, and that primitive Prelate, Archbishop *Laud*, could not escape the Load of such malicious and groundless Imputations, it is not to be wondered if others, who pursue their Steps, and tread in their Paths of Religion, though they move in a much inferiour Sphere, meet with the same Obloquy and Reproach which they so severely felt. But yet in the Day of any Trial, the Men of this Character will be found the best Defenders of the Church of *England*, and the boldest Champions, against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. How little Dr. *Bull* deserved this Reflection, appeared now by his Courage and Resolution, in attacking those pernicious Errors, which he apprehended might gain ground, by the Authority and Favour of a Prince upon the Throne, who was unhappily engaged in that Communion. For Dr. *Bull*, like a vigilant and conscientious Pastor, warned his People of the approaching

approaching Danger, ſupplied them with Arguments for the Hour of Temptation, confirmed them in the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion, and made them ſenſible how much it was their Duty, rather to expoſe themſelves to any temporal Sufferings, than embrace ſuch Principles and Practices, as tended to hazard the Salvation of their immortal Souls.

He was made a Juſtice of Peace after the Revolution.

Some time after the Revolution Dr. *Bull* was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace, in which he continued, with ſome little interruption, till he was made a Biſhop. The main inducement which prevailed upon him to act in a ſecular Poſt, was, that he might have an Opportunity to put the Laws in execution, againſt Immorality and Prophaneſs; that thoſe whom he could not convince by his Arguments, nor perſuade by his affectionate Way of inforcing them, might be terrified into better Manners, by the Sword of Juſtice which was put into his hands. To this purpoſe, though he declined medling in other Matters, which no ways were ſubſervient to his own Profeſſion, yet he was vigorous in ſuppreſſing Vice and Immorality, and by the help of ſome Clergymen in his Neighbourhood, who procured him Informations againſt common Swearers, Drunkards, and Prophaners of the Lord's Day, he was very ſucceſsful. I know this Work of Reformation of Manners, as under the Care and Management of a Society for that purpoſe, lieth under ſome Prejudices, even with ſober

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and underſtanding Perſons; but I believe it chiefly proceedeth from ſome falſe Stories, which have been raiſed on purpoſe to diſcredit the Undertaking; which Calumnies and Slanders having been too eaſily believed, have thrown Contempt upon the whole Work, ſo good in it ſelf, and ſo neceſſary for the Welfare of the Community; for I cannot apprehend, what Service the beſt Laws can do the Publick, if the Execution of them is diſcountenanced. All that can be deſired in this Caſe is, that an impartial Enquiry may be made into ſuch Reports, as bear hard upon the Proceedings of the Society; and I am very much inclined to think, that generally they will be found falſe; which Opinion, I ground upon the Experience I have made of this kind my ſelf; I am ſure they cannot be juſtly condemned, till they have been admitted to a fair Hearing; and if ſome little Indiſcretion ſhould be diſcovered in the Management of ſome, there is no reaſon that ſhould be made a handle to diſparage all ſuch uſeful Proceedings. It muſt be owned, that it requireth great Courage and Reſolution, to get the better of that Oppoſition, which a Man is ſure to meet with in Affairs of this Nature, from the World and the Devil. It requireth a Zeal according to Knowledge, to act in this Matter from a Principle of Religion, without any mixture of Malice or Self-intereſt; and great Prudence and Circumſpection is neceſſary, to determine the beſt manner of doing this

good

good Work; but above all, the Strictneſs of their own Lives muſt ſupport that Zeal, which is ſhewn for the Reformation of others. And I have great reaſon to think, that theſe excellent Qualifications have not been wanting in ſeveral Gentlemen, who have conſulted together, to give a Check to thoſe diſorderly Walkers that abound among us. I am ſure they have been at great Charges to ſupport the Expences of legal Proceedings, and to defend Conſtables, from being maliciouſly and falſly proſecuted, and to make them ſome Reparation, for the unreaſonable Abuſes they have met with upon ſuch Occaſions; though they who have loſt their Lives in diſcharge of their Oath and Duty, by endeavouring to detect and ſuppreſs Vice and Immorality, as it is certain ſome have done, muſt expect their Reward at a higher Tribunal. It is true indeed, that by the Bleſſing of God upon their vigorous Proceedings, great Numbers of lewd Perſons have been brought to legal Puniſhment, and others have been forced to abſcond, in order to eſcape the Terror of the Laws; by which means, ſeveral Sinners have been recovered to a Senſe of their Follies, and reclaimed from their wicked Practices; at leaſt bad Examples have been removed out of ſight, and publick Scandals have not been ſo frequent. Which is ſufficient to entitle all thoſe who labour in this difficult Province, to the Prayers and good Wiſhes, and ſubſtantial Encouragement of all

thoſe,

those, who are concerned for the Welfare of their Country, and have the Honour of God at heart.

In the Year 1694, Dr. *Bull*, while Rector of *Avening*, published his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. which was printed at *Oxford*, and written in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former Book had been of the *Faith*, pronounced at the first Council of *Nice*. The Occasion of writing this Treatise was, that in his reading the xxxiv^th^ Chapter of the fourth Book of the Institutions of *Episcopius*, where he treateth concerning the *Necessity* of believing the manner of the *divine Filiation* of Jesus Christ, and putteth this Question, "Whether the Fifth (and "highest) manner of Christ's being the Son "of God, be necessary to be known and be-"lieved, and whether they who deny the "same, are to be Excommunicated and Ana-"thematized? He made some Remarks hereupon for his own private Use, and drew up an Answer to the Arguments of that learned Writer, whereby he was persuaded, that the primitive Catholicks did not refuse Communion, with those that received not the Article of the divine Generation or Filiation of Jesus Christ, if they acknowledged him to be the Son of God, by his miraculous Conception of the Holy Ghost, by virtue of his mediatorial Office, by his Resurrection from the

LXVI. *His* Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, *written against* Episcopius.

Dead, and by his Exaltation to ſit at the Right Hand of God the Father.

His Character of Epiſcopius, *and his Motives to write againſt him.*

Epiſcopius, as our Author hath obſerved, was a Man of great natural Parts, and more than commonly learned in many Things; but he was one, who very little conſulted or cared for the Writings of the ancient Fathers; yea, plainly deſpiſed them. Whence, writing againſt *Wading* the Jeſuit, who made a mighty boaſt of the Fathers and Councils, as if they were all generally on his ſide againſt the Proteſtants, he took him up ſhort, telling him once for all, that he was miſtaken, in thinking to draw him into ſuch an endleſs Maze and Labour, at which he muſt work like a Mill-horſe, for the ſake only of an empty Name: and that he did not envy thoſe, who had a mind to be always roving and fluctuating in that Ocean of Councils and Fathers, and to be laying out upon them all their Time and Pains, the Glory of being eſteemed for their vaſt Reading and capacious Memory; for that he had no Ambition in him after a Fame for that, which coſt ſo dear and ſignified ſo little. Wherefore he gave the Jeſuit to underſtand, that he would deal with him with other ſort of Weapons, than thoſe which he brought: And that becauſe he did not think any great Streſs was to be laid upon the Fathers and Councils, in the Points controverted betwixt them, ſince they were equally challenged by both ſides, he

he had resolved not to be at much pains about them, nor to purchase with so much Sweat, that which he might afterwards come to *repent of*. But it were much to have been wished, that he had here excepted, at least the Fathers and Writers of the three first Centuries of the Church. For most certainly, as our Author hath well noted hereupon, had he expended more of his Time and Study in reading of these, he would herein have taken pains *not to be repented of*, either by himself, or the Church of Christ. For it is his Judgment, that so learned and good a Man, would never have undertaken so far, the Patronage of the Arians and Socinians, as to excuse their Doctrine concerning the Person of our Saviour, by the pretended Judgment and Authority of the primitive Church, as if it were but *Erroneous* only and not *Heretical* also. This Dr. *Bull* could no ways bear to hear of, who is positive, that it may be demonstrated from the present Remains which we have of Church Antiquity, that all those Churches in the most early Ages, which are in this Case appealed to, did agree to condemn the same, as a *most pernicious and deadly Heresie*, and that the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, did no more than declare herein, the Sentiment of the whole Catholick and Apostolick Church, or of all the several particular Churches from which they came, and which they represented, by that

damnatory Clauſe, which was added by them to their Confeſſion of Faith.

The Anathema *of the Council of* Nice *defended againſt him and others.*

The Form of the Anathema pronounced in that Council, which ſeemed too harſh and uncharitable to *Epiſcopius*, but which Dr. *Bull* hath vindicated, from all the Objections and Prejudices raiſed againſt it, is this; * "Them "that ſay, that *there was a Time when he was* "*not*, or that *before he was born he was not*, "or that *he was made out of Things that are* "*not*, or that *he is of another Subſtance or Eſ-* "*ſence*, and them that maintain, that the Son of "God is *Created*, or *Convertible*, or *Change-* "*able*; all theſe doth the Catholick and Apo- "ſtolical Church anathematize. But this Anſwer of Dr. *Bull* to *Epiſcopius*, in defence of the ſaid Anathema of the Council, as the Judgment of the whole Catholick Church in the pureſt Ages of it, was not written and publiſhed ſo much againſt *Epiſcopius* himſelf, or againſt his Diſciple *Curcellæus*, who hath written a † Diſſertation alſo much to the ſame purpoſe, or againſt any of the Learned abroad, whether Remonſtrants or Unitarians, as againſt ſome at home among us, to whom Dr. *Bull*

* Τὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

† De Neceſſitate Cognitionis Chriſti,

giveth

giveth the Name of *Mediators*, for joining together two Extremes; who in their Writings have made uſe of the Arguments of *Epiſcopius*, *Curcellæus*, and even of *Socinus* himſelf for this end. Againſt ſuch modern Reconcilers as theſe, who ſtood indifferent for the Truth, and were Strangers to the Principles of Catholick Communion, it appeareth, that this Treatiſe was principally levelled by the Author. Which he deſigned ſhould ſerve for a Supplement, to his Defence of the Faith declared in the Council of *Nice*. And ſo indeed it is, and a Vindication of that Defence to that purpoſe.

The main Occaſion and Deſign of publiſhing this Book.

It containeth the Judgment of the Catholick Church of the three firſt Centuries, concerning the *Neceſſity of believing*, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is true God. In his Premonition to the Reader, the Author hath given us an Account, as hath been hinted, of the Occaſion and Deſign of his engaging againſt that learned Writer in this preſent Treatiſe. Which he hath done after ſo clear and diſtinct a manner, as very little more, beſides what I have already taken notice of, need be ſaid upon it. I ſhall only therefore here obſerve, that about the ſame time, and for ſome few Years before, there were certain Diſcourſes and Pamphlets printed in *Engliſh*, which under the plauſible Pretences of Moderation and Charity, were for breaking down all the Fences of Orthodox and Catholick Communion: and ſo for leaving the moſt fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith

perfectly indifferent, according as every one ſhall be inclined to believe more or leſs.

With this Deſign, a Book called, the *naked Goſpel*, was printed at *Oxford* in 1690, the main Subject whereof was, the Simplicity of the Goſpel, which our Lord and his Apoſtles preached, as neceſſary to be believed; with ſome account of the Alterations or Additions, which after-Ages either made, or are pretended to have made in it; and of the Advantages and Damages which have thereupon enſued to the Catholick Church: It is well known, that this Book was condemned, and ordered to be publickly burnt, by the Convocation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, upon the 19th of *Auguſt* the ſame Year; and there were two large Anſwers to it printed the next Year, the one written by the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Long*, B. D. and one of the Prebendaries of St. *Peters* at *Exeter*, and the other by Mr. *William Nichols*, M. A. who was a Fellow of *Merton*, and then Chaplain to *Ralph* Earl of *Mountague*; to which laſt was added, a ſhort Hiſtory of Socinianiſm by the ſame Author: and on the other ſide there was publiſhed, an *Hiſtorical Vindication of the naked Goſpel*, which was either written originally by the famous *Monſieur Le Clerc*; or elſe by him tranſlated into his Life of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, as by comparing them will eaſily be ſeen. There were alſo ſpread abroad about the ſame time ſeveral ſmall Socinian Tracts, as *the Fire*

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continued at Oxford, and others, which under the ſame Pretences of the Simplicity of the Goſpel, and mutual Forbearance, carried on the ſame Deſign, and uſed much the ſame Arguments as *Epiſcopius* had done. There was alſo publiſhed ſoon after, *An earneſt and compaſſionate Suit for Forbearance, to the learned Writers of ſome Controverſies at preſent; by a* melancholy Stander-by; By which *learned Writers* he declared, that he principally meant Dr. *Sherlock* and Dr. *South*. Whereto Dr. *Sherlock* returned an Anſwer with a great deal of ſaltneſs, in his *Apology for writing againſt the Socinians*. To which the former preſently replied, calling his Book, *The Antapology of the* melancholy Stander-by; *in anſwer to the* Dean of St. *Paul's late Book, falſely ſtiled*, An Apology for writing againſt the Socinians, *&c.* which produced, *A Defence of the Dean of St.* Paul's *Apology*, &c. *in anſwer to the* Antapologiſt: and ſo this Debate ended between the Dean and the Stander-by.

As for the Hiſtorical Vindication before mentioned, Dr. *Bull* thought himſelf a little more particularly concerned therein, becauſe there is inſerted in it a pretty large Account of the Arian Controverſy, and of the Management of the contending ſides before, and at the great Council of *Nice*; with the Hiſtory of a great many Facts, ſomewhat otherwiſe, than by him had been repreſented in his *Defence* of that Council. Wherefore he reſolved to take ſome notice of the

Contents hereof, both in this preſent Treatiſe of the *Judgment* of the *Catholick Church*, and in another of the *Primitive Tradition*, but with very little notice of the Book it ſelf, as not deſerving it in his Opinion. The Multitude then, of ſuch ſort of Pamphlets and Tracts, was a main Occaſion of his printing at this time this moſt learned Piece: and his Deſign therein was undoubtedly to limit the Terms of Catholick Communion to the Orthodox Faith, againſt the Latitudinarian Notions of the Times.

A ſhort Abſtract of its Contents and Method.

LXVII. He hath made a Collection in this Treatiſe of Teſtimonies from the primitive Fathers, which argue not only the Truth of the Divinity of our Bleſſed Saviour, but alſo the *Neceſſity* for a Chriſtian to believe the ſame, in order to be ſaved: And thus the precarious Aſſertion of *Epiſcopius* and his Diſciples, is confuted and overturned by our Author. Then he hath next given us an Hiſtorical Account, of thoſe primitive Hereticks who firſt oppoſed the Catholick and Apoſtolical Tradition, concerning the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the two Natures in the Perſon of Chriſt: and at large juſtified the Charge againſt the *Cerinthians* and the *Ebionites*, for detracting from the Dignity of our Lord, in anſwer to the Objections of Dr. *Zwicker* and others. So that as in the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, there are the Witneſſes of the three firſt Centuries, for the

the Trinity and Incarnation of the eternal Word conſidered; in the *Judgment of the Catholick Church*, there are the Witneſſes of thoſe three Centuries alſo, *againſt* thoſe Doctrines examined, and balanced with the former. And further, he hath given ſuch an Account of the ancient Creeds, and more particularly, of the firſt and moſt ancient Creed of all, and the Explications thereof, which are found in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*; as it will be very hard after him to add any further Light to that Matter. For all what the Elder *Voſſius*, with ſo much Pains and Judgment, had collected upon this Subject, with what our moſt learned and pious Archbiſhop *Uſher* had alſo written hereupon, after mature deliberation upon the whole, will be found applied with great Skill, and ſet in a very advantagious Light, for removing all manner of Doubts, concerning the ancient Judgment of the Chriſtian Church, both *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, concerning theſe Matters. And therefore the Creed, which is commonly called the *Apoſtles Creed*, and which evidently was the Creed of the *Latin* and *Weſtern* Church, is here ſo explained and defended, according to moſt ancient Teſtimonies, as wholly to take away the edge of thoſe Arguments, which both *Epiſcopius* and *Sandius*, with the *Engliſh* Unitarians, have thence drawn to ſerve their Hypotheſis.

In the handling of this Subject he is pretty large, and undertaketh to demonſtrate theſe four Pro-

Propoſitions or Theſes; *viz.* "I. That the Apo-
" ſtolical Creed (ſo called) however conforma-
" ble to the Apoſtolical Doctrine, yet was not
" dictated by the Apoſtles themſelves, in that
" Form and Method which we have it in at this
" Day; but that it was properly the Creed of the
" *Roman* Church, which received its Comple-
" tion and Perfection in that Church, about
" four hundred Years or more after Chriſt, the
" Churches of the *Eaſt* uſing all that time a-
" nother Creed. II. That the ancient Church
" of *Rome* had reaſon to uſe, and did accord-
" ingly uſe a ſhorter and more ſuccinct Creed,
" than that which the *Eaſtern* Churches were
" under a Neceſſity of uſing; for as much as
" theſe were diſturbed with all manner of He-
" reſies, but in the *Roman* Church there was
" no Hereſy ſtarted up, which adventured to
" expound her more brief Confeſſion, other-
" wiſe than according to the Orthodox and
" Catholick Meaning, and the genuine Senſe
" of the Church. III. That in the *Roman*
" (or Apoſtolick) Creed there is truly con-
" tained, a Profeſſion of the divine Generation
" of Chriſt in thoſe Words, *And I believe in*
" *Jeſus Chriſt his only Son.* IV. That in the
" Creed or Rule of Faith, which obtained in
" the moſt ancient Churches of the *Eaſt* before
" the firſt Council of *Nice*, this divine eternal
" Generation, or moſt peculiar manner of the
" *Sonſhip* of our bleſſed Saviour is delivered
" and declared.

The

The firſt Theſis is ſo learnedly defended by the great *Voſſius*, as all the Criticks in general, both of the Roman and Proteſtant Communions, have ſince the Publication of his moſt famous Book, concerning *the three* Creeds, herein with him concurred, and reſted in his Determination. Dr. *Bull* among the reſt concluded, the Arguments there brought to be demonſtrative in this Caſe, and to need therefore no farther Confirmation. And indeed, the *Engliſh* Socinians by their nibbling at them, in oppoſition chiefly to Dr. *Bull*, have but thereby contributed the more to the eſtabliſhing the Truth of the Diſcovery which *Voſſius* had made; and the expoſing of their own Weakneſs and Ignorance, in Reſearches of this Nature. The ſecond and third of theſe Theſes he hath fully explained and defended: and hath on this Occaſion, with great Accurateneſs, conſidered all the ſeveral *Modes of divine Filiation*, which are declared by *Epiſcopius*, in order to a right and thorough ſtating of the Queſtion betwixt them; and clearly anſwered the Arguments brought by him, for underſtanding the divine Generation of our Lord, as he is the *only Begotten* of the Father in any inferiour Senſe. Under the *laſt Theſis*, he hath diſcourſed with abundance of Learning upon the old Oriental Rule of Faith, or the moſt ancient Creed that is extant of the Jewiſh Chriſtians, being the *Hieroſolymitan Creed*, which in the earlieſt and pureſt Ages of the Church

was

was explained by the Catechiſts in their catechetical Lectures, throughout the Churches of *Paleſtine* and the *Eaſt*, as appeareth from the Practice of St. *Cyril*, when he was a Catechiſt in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, whereof he was created afterwards Biſhop, at or about the middle of the fourth Century; and as is confirmed alſo, by the Confeſſion and Teſtimony of another Biſhop out of *Paleſtine*, when ſitting in the Council of *Nice*, even no leſs a Man than the celebrated *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, who hath tranſcribed the very Words of the *Hieroſolymitan Creed*, touching the Article of the Son of God, in the Profeſſion of his Faith delivered in unto the Fathers of that Council, (one ſmall Variation admitted into their Symbol only excepted) according to what he had been inſtructed, when a Catechumen of that Church of Apoſtolical Foundation. The Antiquity of this Creed is here juſtified by moſt ſolid Arguments; and the catechetical Expoſition, which generally paſſeth under the Name of St. *Cyril*, is vindicated to be his, from the Objections which ſome Criticks have raiſed againſt it. Each particular Article of it is examined, and upon a moſt careful Examination, both the Whole, and all the Parts thereof, are found to be agreeable to the ancient Creeds, and Confeſſions, before the General Councils of *Nice* and *Conſtantinople*. The Creed it ſelf, as we find it commented upon by that holy Doctor of the Church, is as followeth, *viz.*

I be-

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only begotten, born of the Father before all Worlds, true God, by whom all Things were made; Incarnate and made Man, crucified and buried; but who rose again from the Dead on the third Day, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father: and who shall come to judge the Living and the Dead, of whose Kingdom there shall be no End: And in the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who hath spoken by the Prophets: And in the Baptism of Repentance, for the Forgiveness of Sins: And in one Holy Catholick Church: And in the Resurrection of the Flesh: And in the Life Everlasting. Amen. *The Hierosolymitan Creed.*

This is the Creed expounded by that ancient Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and defended by Dr. *Bull*, to be more ancient than those Creeds from which some pretend that it was borrowed. Yea, attested to by the very Arians themselves, as he hath shown by several of their own Confessions; and by their very Appeals to Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition; whence he aptly concludeth them to be *self con-* *A further Account of the Method and Argument of this Book.*

condemned, by what they themſelves have owned, to have been delivered down to them from the Beginning. And it is obſervable here, that as the Church of *Jeruſalem* was, without Controverſy, the moſt ancient of all the Oriental Churches; and the common Creed of that Church probably not much leſs ancient: So the Arians, as coming out from among the Oriental Chriſtians, did generally frame all their Confeſſions of Faith, as near to that Rule of Faith, which had been received in their Churches from the Beginning, as they could; and conſequently to that of *Jeruſalem*, as did *Euſebius*, when he was thought too much to favour that ſide. Now upon the whole Matter, this is the Concluſion, that ſince it is agreed upon by the Arians and Catholicks, that by the Rule of Faith delivered to the Churches from the Beginning, all were bound "to be-"lieve in the only Begotten Son of God, be-"gotten of God the Father before all Worlds, "very God, [or perfect God] by whom all "things were made; there can be no other Difficulty remaining, but to know which ſide doth beſt interpret this Rule, that is, moſt agreeably to the obvious Senſe of the Words, and the received Interpretation of the Church: And he hath made it very manifeſt, that only the Catholicks did hold the genuine Senſe of this Rule, by believing the Son to be of the ſame Nature and Eſſence with the Father, moſt truly

truly God, and that the Arians were very wide from the Truth, by conceiving him to be a Creature, and made out of nothing, and so no other than a *vicarious God*, or a second and inferiour God. The Rule of Faith being therefore rightly interpreted by the Catholicks, as he hath proved, and as *Episcopius* himself doth not disown, he hath thence inferred an Assertion directly contrary to that of *Episcopius*.

LXVIII. *Dr. Bull's Judgment of the Catholick Church, &c. sent to the Bishop of Meaux; who with the rest of the Bishops of France complemented the Author.*

Some time after the Publication of the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. I had an Opportunity of sending it as a Present to *Monsieur BOSSUET*, the late *Bishop* of *Meaux*, who was one of the politest Writers of the Age, and very much esteemed in *France*, for his great Learning, as well as for his good Sense; and less could not be expected from a Person chose for Preceptor, to instruct the *Dauphin* of *France*, at a time when that Nation abounded with great Men. This considerable Prelate had upon several Occasions, expressed a great Value and Esteem for Dr. *Bull*'s Learning and Judgment; so that from the Commendations the Bishop had bestowed upon our learned Author's former Performances, I thought it not unlikely, that his Lordship would give a favourable Reception to this Production, which was so very acceptable to many other learned Men. And indeed I was not disappointed in my Expectations, for this small Acknowledgment I made

made to his Lordſhip, for the many great Favours he was pleaſed to conſer upon me, when I was laſt in *France*, was received by him with a Satisfaction, which could ariſe from nothing ſo much, as from the Entertainment he met with in that excellent Treatiſe. It happened, that when my Letter and Dr. *Bull*'s Book were delivered to his Lordſhip, he was then at St. *Germains en Laye*, with the reſt of his Brethren met in a general Aſſembly, which is compoſed of all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Kingdom of *France*. If through Age or Infirmity, or from ſome other reaſonable Cauſe, any of theſe Prelates are hindred from giving their Attendance upon ſuch Occaſions, they have the liberty of conſtituting their Proxies. The uſual Place of their Meeting is either *Paris* or St. *Germains*, but there is none fixed for that purpoſe, becauſe the Appointment thereof dependeth entirely upon the King's Pleaſure; no particular Archbiſhop or Biſhop hath a Right to preſide in this Aſſembly, becauſe it belongeth to the King to nominate, though commonly the Honour of being Preſident is conferred upon the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. Upon this Occaſion, the Biſhop of *Meaux* not only read Dr. *Bull*'s Book with great Care and Exactneſs himſelf, but thought fit to communicate it to ſeveral other Biſhops of the greateſt Eminence, for their Learning and Skill in Divinity; and for thoſe other Talents, which are neceſſary to adorn that high Station in the Church. They

They also perused it with no less Pleasure than Satisfaction; the Result whereof was, to make a Compliment to the Author from that great and learned Body; and I was desired by the Bishop of *Meaux*, in a Letter from his Lordship, not only to return Dr. *Bull* his humble Thanks, but the unfeigned Congratulations of the whole Clergy of *France*, assembled then at St. *Germains*, for the great Service he had done to the Catholick Church, in so well defending her Determination of the Necessity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God. The Letter which his Lordship wrote to me upon that Occasion, hath been already printed in the first Volume of Dr. *Hickes*'s controversial Letters; but I believe it will not be thought improper to insert it in Dr. *Bull*'s Life, as a Monument of that Respect which was paid to his Writings, by so illustrious a Prelate as the Bishop of *Meaux*, and by so learned a Body as the Clergy of *France*.

A Monsieur Monsieur Nelson, *à* Blackheath.

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A St. Germain en Laye, 24 Juil. 1700.

The Bp. of Meaux's Letter to Mr. Nelson, concerning Dr. Bull.

J'AY receu, Monsieur, depuis quinze jours une Lettre, dont vous m'honorez de *Blackheath* aupres de *Londres*, le 18 *Juillet* de l'année passée, en m'envoyant un Livre du Docteur *Bullus*, entitulé, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c.

Je vous dirai d'abord, Monſieur, que je reſſentis beaucoup de joie à la veuë de voſtre écriture & de voſtre nom, & que je fus ravi de cette marque de voſtre ſouvenir. Quant à l'Ouvrage du Docteur *Bullus*, j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuſer la reception; afin de vous en dire mon ſentiment. Il eſt admirable, & la matiere qu'il traite ne pouvoit eſtre expliquée plus ſavamment & plus à fond. C'eſt ce que je vous ſupplie de vouloir bien luy faire ſavoir, & en meſme temps les ſinceres Congratulations de tout le Clergé de *France* aſſemblé en cette ville, pour le ſervice qu'il rend à l'Egliſe Catholique, en defendant ſi bien le jugement qu'elle a porté ſur la neceſſité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu. Qu'il me ſoit permis de luy dire qu'il me reſte un ſeul ſujet d'etonnement. C'eſt qu'un ſi grand homme qui parle ſi bien de l'Egliſe, du Salut que l'on ne trouve qu'en ſon unité, & de l'aſſiſtance infallible du St. Eſprit dans le Concile de *Nicée*, ce qui induit la meſme grace pour tons les autres aſſemblez dans la meſme Egliſe, puiſſe demeurer un ſeul moment ſans la reconnoiſtre. Ou bien, Monſieur, qu'il daigne me dire comme à un zelé defenſeur de la Doctrine qu'il enſeigne, ce que c'eſt donc qu'il entend par ce mot *Egliſe Catholique?* Eſtce l'Egliſe *Romaine*, & celles qui luy adherent? Eſtce l'Egliſe *Anglicane?* Eſtce un amas confus de Societez ſeparées les unes des autres? Et comment peuvent elles eſtre ce Royaume de J. C.

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non divisé en luy mesme, & qui aussi ne doit jamais perir ? Que je serai consolé d'avoir sur ce sujet un mot de responce, qui m'explique le sentiment d'un si grave Auteur. Je suis tres aise, Monsieur, d'aprendre dans vostre Lettre l'heureuse nouvelle de la santé de Madame vostre Femme, que je recommande de bon cœur à Dieu, avec vous & vostre Famille. Ceux qui vous ont raconté les rares talens de M. l'Archevesque de *Paris*, aujourd'hui le Cardinal de *Noailles*, vous ont dit la verité ; il y a long temps que la chaire de St. *Denis* n'a esté si dignement remplie. Si M. *Collier*, dont vous me parlez, a fait quelque écrit Latin sur la nouvelle Spiritualité, vous m'obligerez de me l'envoyer. Mais sur tout n'oubliez jamais que je suis avec beaucoup de sincerité

Monsieur,

Vostre tres-humble, &

tres-obeissant Serviteur,

✠ J. Benigne, E. de Meaux.

To Mr. *Nelson* at *Blackheath*.

✠

St. Germaine en Laye, 24 July, 1700.

I Received, Sir, about a fortnight ago, the honour of your Letter from Blackheath *near*

London, *dated the* 18*th of* July *of the last Year, when at the same time you sent me* Dr. Bull's *Book, entituled,* Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, *&c. I must first, Sir, acquaint you, that the sight of your Hand and Name gave me a great deal of Joy, and that I was extremely pleased with this Testimony of your Remembrance. As to* Dr. Bull's *Performance, I was willing to read it all over, before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my Sense of it. 'Tis admirable, and the Matter he treats could not be explained with greater Learning and greater Judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned Congratulations of all the Clergy of* France, *assembled in this place, for the Service he does the Catholick Church, in so well defending her Determination of the necessity of believing the Divinity of the Son of* God. *Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a Man, who speaks so advantageously of the Church, of Salvation, which is obtain'd only in Unity with Her, and of the infallible Assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of* Nice, *which infers the same Assistance for all others assembled in the same Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or either, Sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me, who am a zealous defender of the Doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term* Catholick Church? *Is it the Church of* Rome, *and those that*

that adhere to her? Is it the Church of England? *Is it a confus'd Heap of Societies ſeparated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Chriſt not divided againſt itſelf, and which never ſhall periſh? It would be a great Satisfaction to me to receive ſome Anſwer upon this Subject, that might explain the Opinion of ſo weighty and ſolid an Author. I very much rejoice at the good News you ſend me of your Lady's Welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your Family. You have been rightly inform'd in the account you have receiv'd of the admirable Qualifications of the* Archbiſhop *of* Paris, *now* Cardinal de Noailles; *the See of St.* Denis *has not for a long time been ſo worthily filled. If Mr.* Collier, *whom you mention, has writ any thing in* Latin *concerning the* modern myſtical Divinity, *you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all remember, that I am with a great deal of Sincerity,*

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant,

✠ *J. Benigne,* Biſhop of *Meaux.*

By this Letter the Reader will perceive that the Biſhop of *Meaux* propoſed ſeveral Queries to Dr. *Bull*, in order to know the Sentiments of ſo conſiderable a Man upon thoſe Subjects, which the Biſhop expected to receive with no ſmall Degree of Satisfaction. But juſt as Dr. *Bull*'s Anſwer came to my Hands, I received the melancholy News of the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Death, which prevented the Progreſs of that Controverſy; which we might have expected to have ſeen carried on with great Decency, and to very good Effect, by two ſuch great Men, tho' of different Communions, if the Providence of God had not put a Stop to it, by taking the Biſhop out of the World before Dr. *Bull*'s Letter was ſent to him.

LXIX. *Dr.* Bull *publiſhes his* Primitive and Apoſtolical Tradition, *&c. againſt Dr.* Zwicker. *An Account of that* Pruſſian.

The laſt Treatiſe which Dr. *Bull* wrote, was, * *The Primitive and Apoſtolical Tradition of the Doctrine received in the Catholick Church, concerning the* Divinity *of our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *aſſerted and evidently demonſtrated againſt* Daniel Zwicker *the* Pruſſian, *and his late Followers in* England; which was publiſhed, when the reſt of our learned Author's Works were collected into one Volume, by the very learned and pious Dr. *Grabe*; of which there

* Primitiva & Apoſtolica Traditio Dogmatis in Eccleſia Catholica recepti de Jeſu Chriſti Servatoris noſtri Divinitate; Aſſerta atq; evidenter demonſtrata contra Danielem Zuickerum Boruſſum, ejuſq; nuperos in Anglia Sectatores. *Lond.* 1703.

will

will be an account given in the following Part of this Life. Now, that the Design of our Author may be the better understood in this excellent Piece, it will be necessary to give some account of the Person he writes against, and of the Scheme Dr. *Zwicker* formed, concerning our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This *Daniel Zwicker* was born at *Dantzick*, in the Year 1612, and was bred to the Profession of Physick, in which he took the Degree of a Doctor. He was a Person of a very inquisitive Genius, and of good natural Parts, but somewhat over bold; not easily to be satisfied in his Researches after Truth; and of great Assiduity in his Application to whatsoever parts of Learning he set himself to study.

Bred a Lutheran, *and turns* Unitarian.

He was the first and most considerable of those Unitarian Writers, which have fallen under the Animadversion of Dr. *Bull*; for he was before *Sandius*, and both *Sandius* and Mr. *Gilbert Clerke*, have but copied in a manner after this learned *Dantzicker*, as also the rest have done, that have engaged on that side of the Controversy. * When he was between the Age of thirty and forty, he set himself to examine into the Pretensions of the several Religions, professed by those among whom he lived: And when he was now seven and thirty Years old, he wrote and printed a Dis-

* Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum. *Sandius.*

ſertation by way of Queſtion, *whether a Chriſtian Man were always obliged to learn and enquire?* And about half a Year after that, a Diſcourſe, which he called, *A ſhort and true Demonſtration when and where the Holy Scripture ought to be properly and where figuratively explained and underſtood.* Both theſe were publiſhed by him in the *High Dutch*, his own native Language; with the *Rules and Confeſſion of zealous Chriſtians.* And when he was about forty Years old, he publiſhed, in the ſame Tongue, an Hiſtorical Account of the Grounds of his quitting the Opinion in which he had been firſt educated; for he had been bred a *Lutheran.* But upon this Change of his Religion, being obliged to leave his own Country, he retired into *Holland* for Security and Convenience. Where he became acquainted with *Curcellæus*, who hath been already mention'd: And there is added to his famous *Quaternio*, a Diſſertation of this very *Zwicker*, but without his Name, againſt *Mareſius*, the great Enemy both of *Curcellæus* and *Blondel.* The Title of it is, *Judicium de Johanna Papiſſa contra Mareſium*; in which he diſcovered a great Fund of Eccleſiaſtical Learning, with that Sagacity and Penetration of Judgment, which is required to make a Critick. At or about the ſame time, he printed at *Amſterdam* his * *Ireni-*

* Irenicum Irenicorum, ſeu Reconciliatoris Chriſtianorum Hodiernorum norma Triplex; ſana omnium hominum ratio, Scriptura Sacra, & Traditiones. *Amſterd.* 1658. 12°.

cum

cum Irenicorum, &c. or *the Triple Rule of the Reconciler of modern Christians*; the first of which is here established to be the universal *Reason* of Mankind, or sound Sense; the second, the sacred *Scriptures*; and the third, Catholick *Tradition*, or Testimonies of approved Ecclesiastical Writers. This made the greatest Noise of all his Writings, which were many, and drew several Answers to it from learned Men. It was published without a Name; And the concealed Author might not have been discovered, but that *Sandius*, who personally knew him, and was privy to the Secret, resolved to make the World acquainted with this piece of News, so soon as it was safe to be done. The good *Comenius*, the last *Bohemian* Bishop, was unhappily engaged in this Controversy with Dr. *Zwicker*; whereby the Cause did suffer not a little. *Zwicker* did unmercifully triumph over the honest old Prelate, under the Name of *Irenico-mastix*. There are no less than three several Vindications of his *Irenicum*, successively set forth by himself, against the Attacks of *Comenius*, *Hoornbechius*, and others. So that there wanted still a solid Confutation of this Book, which had perverted many, and continued still to do Mischief; the Arguments of it being translated also, and new dressed up in our own Tongue, that the Infection of it might spread here: upon which, Dr. *Bull* undertook this Labour, and hath acquitted himself, to the Satisfaction of

all

all that are capable of weighing without Prejudice what he hath written. This Dr. *Zwicker* hath publiſhed ſeveral other Books, both in *Latin*, and in *High* and *Low Dutch*, upon Variety of Subjects, but chiefly in Defence of the Unitarians. He died at *Amſterdam* in the Year 1678, aged ſixty ſix Years and ten Months. Now to ſay ſomewhat of his Sentiments, and particularly his *Irenicum*.

An Account of ſome of this Doctor's extravagant Poſitions.

He pretended, that the Simplicity of the Goſpel of Chriſt, according as it was believed by the ancient *Nazarens*, was firſt corrupted by *Simon Magus* and his Diſciples: That the moſt primitive Chriſtians, both Jewiſh and Gentile, believed in God the Father, as in the one only True God; and acknowledged not Jeſus Chriſt in any other Capacity, but according to his human Generation only, till Platoniſm and Gnoſticiſm crept into the Church: That the Diſciples of this *Simon* firſt interpolated and changed the ſound Doctrine about God and Chriſt, which had been preached by the Apoſtles of our Lord; and introduced another Chriſt, pre-exiſtent to, and diſtinct from him that was born of the *Virgin Mary*: That the eternal and divine Generation of the *Word* was no better than a Dream of the *Simonians*, deſtructive of the common Notions of Mankind, and of the Truth of the Goſpel, as built upon that *Man* whom God hath anointed, and exalted to be a Saviour: That the Beginning at leaſt of the Goſpel aſcribed to St. *John*,

was never written by that Apostle, but by some Heretick out of the School of *Simon*: That by the same *Simonian* Hereticks, were forged certain Verses under the Name of *Orpheus*, making mention of the *Voice* or *Word* of the Father begotten by him before the World was created, and whom he consulted in the Creation thereof; and that *Justin Martyr*, being imposed upon by these pretended *Orphaic Verses*, as if they had verily been composed by *Orpheus* himself, and by him derived from *Moses*, had thence taken up his Opinion, concerning the Generation of Christ from God the Father, before the Foundation of the World, as the *Mind*, the *Voice*, the *Reason* of the Father, to the end the World might through this begotten Mind or Voice be brought forth, and that this divine Offspring might descend to converse among Men, and might at length become himself also a Man: That besides the early Perversion of the Gospel by the *Simonian Magic*, and by the Forgery of the *Orphaic* and *Sybilline* Oracles; there were several other Reasons that concurred, to induce *Justin* and his Followers, to embrace so easily the Opinion of the Pre-existence of Christ and his Generation before all Worlds; such as *Justin*'s Acquaintance with and Affection for the Platonick Philosophy, the Memory of Paganism not yet obliterated, some Traces particularly in the Minds of the Gentile Converts, and Prejudices in Favour of the commonly received Scheme for a Plura-

lity,

lity of Gods not quite extinct; the ordinary Cuſtom of *Deifying* great and extraordinary Perſons, and a ſort of natural Reluctance in all, to the worſhipping of any one who is *no more than* Man. From all which he concluded, that the Pre-exiſtence and divine Generation of our Saviour was unknown to the Apoſtles; and that it was an Opinion which derived itſelf from *Simon Magus*, but owed its Growth and Eſtabliſhment to Pagan Philoſophers embracing the Chriſtian Religion, and blending their Philoſophy with it; and therefore he laboured to expoſe to the utmoſt Contempt, the greateſt Man of his Time among the Heathen Converts to Chriſtianity, and one whoſe Pen had *ſerved twice to ſtop the Fury of two Perſecutions, by two famous Apologies which he wrote in Behalf of the Chriſtians*; and to repreſent this very Perſon, who was of ſo great Eminence among the primitive Chriſtians and Martyrs, and who lived in Communion with the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, as the principal Corrupter of Chriſtianity, and the Intruder of a *New Chriſt*, and a *New Goſpel*, becauſe he hath ſpoken ſo plainly of the Pre-exiſtence and Godhead of Chriſt. Wherein he hath been follow'd by the Author of the *Judgment of the Fathers touching the Trinity*, who hath taken out of his Quiver, the Arrows which he hath ſhot againſt both the Perſon and the Doctrine of this bleſſed Martyr; and by ſeveral others, who have written in Defence of the anci-

ent Hereticks and Heresies, thereby to overthrow Dr. *Bull*'s Defence of the *Nicene* Faith, and the Authority of his *Anti-Nicene* Witnesses.

LXX. *How Dr.* Bull *was moved to write against* Zwicker, *and such as copied after him.*

No wonder, therefore, if Dr. *Bull*'s Zeal was kindled against such Writers as these, when he found, what he verily believed upon the strictest Examination, to be the true Apostolical and Catholick Faith, and the very Pillar and Foundation of the whole Gospel, to be thus by them blasphemed: to see the most primitive Tradition of the purest Ages of Christianity, concerning the Divinity of the *Logos*, and the pre-existent spiritual Nature of Christ before his Assumption of the *servile Form* of Flesh, to be represented as no other than the very Spawn of *Simonianism* and *Cerenthianism*, or as a Relict of *Pagan* Polytheism: and to find those Hereticks who renounced the very Principles of Christianity, and denied the Lawfulness of calling upon Jesus Christ, confidently set up and ranked among the primitive Witnesses of the Gospel; which some of them had never so much as once embraced, being contented to live in the Communion of the Synagogue, and hold their *Jewish* Notions, concerning the Person of Christ; and from which others of them actually apostatized, denying the *Lord that bought them*; while at the same time, the most substantial and venerable Evidences of our holy Faith, are by pretended

pretended Chriſtians ſet aſide, and loudly cried down for no better than Impoſtors and Cheats; and while even two out of three of the heavenly Witneſſes themſelves, that is, the WORD and the SPIRIT, are placed by them in the very ſame Rank, with thoſe * *Baalims* which the idolatrous *Jews* worſhipped, together with the only true God, ſoon after the deceaſe of *Joſhua*.

Such as theſe were the Provocations which made Dr. *Bull* ſo vehement in his Charge againſt ſome of the modern *Arians*, and *Samoſatenians*, or *Socinians*, as to give the former the Name of *Ariomanitæ*, or *the bewitched Arians*, and to the Syſtem of the latter, that of the *Atheiſtical Hereſy*; at which the Engliſh *Anti-Trinitarians*, who about this time boaſted very much of their Strength and Numbers, were ſo deſperately incenſed againſt him, that † one in the Name of all the reſt declared, that *no Reſpect or Tenderneſs ought to be ſhewn him by any* Unitarian. They accuſed him of mad ** Zeal and Bigotry, of ſupercilious Malevolence and Arrogance, yea of *Barbarities* towards them; they called him even an *Hildebrand*, for his uncourtlike treating of them; and for breaking the Cartel, as they called it,

* *Judgment of the Fathers*, &c. p. 48, 49.

† *The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. *Printed*, An. 1695.

** *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. 1694.

of

of Honour and Civility that was thought to be agreed and established between Persons of excellent Learning or great Abilities, when they happen to be engaged on contrary sides; they railed bitterly at him, for his shewing so very little Deference to the Merit of their Learning and Penetration; for his Contempt of their greatest Champions, and for his exposing their Arguments, as no better than meer Sophistries, without the least Degree of Pity; they upbraided him with Want of good Manners; and they imputed his writing so warmly and heartily in Defence of the *Nicene* Faith, either to his *Fear*, or to his *Ambition*, or to both, and not to any regard for the Truth, or esteem for primitive and genuine Christianity; they pretended, that he was so apprehensive of the growing Interest of the *Unitarians* in this Kingdom, as almost to be afraid, lest it might one day be strong enough to turn him out of his Parsonage or Prebend; and that this was one principal Motive of his appearing so zealously against them, both from the Pulpit and the Press; they insinuated also, that he intended by the Books written against them, to recommend himself to his Superiors in the Church, and merit a Bishoprick or a Deanry. I have not concealed any part of their Charge against this Great Man, or covered over their Suspicions of him, as if his Good Name were any ways in danger hereby, or as if the Cause which he defended could be hurt by such a Method

Method as this. No; They are extremely miſtaken who think any ſuch thing; and the Adverſaries themſelves do in effect confeſs as much, while they ſo violently exclaim againſt the Appearance of it in another; and it is much more probable, that Dr. *Bull*'s Labours in Vindication of the true Apoſtolical Faith, muſt needs have done much Good in the World, ſince theſe Gentlemen were ſo exaſperated againſt them and their Author.

The Subſtance of Dr. Bull's Primitive and Apoſtolical Tradition, *&c. againſt* Zwicker *and others.*

Upon the occaſion of theſe extravagant Poſitions of Dr. *Zwicker*, and of others who had copied after him, in fiercely oppoſing the Catholick Tradition of the Pre-exiſtence and divine Nature of our Lord, Dr. *Bull* drew up *the Primitive and Apoſtolical Tradition*, &c. which we have already mentioned; and I think a clear Demonſtration will here be found, that *Juſtin Martyr*, as is pretended, is not an Innovator of the Chriſtian Faith, in the Article concerning the Perſon of Chriſt; that he was not deceived herein, by the Frauds and Artifices of the Diſciples of *Simon Magus*; that he never learnt from the School of *Plato*, what he delivered concerning the *Logos*; and that he was the fartheſt in the World from any Deſign of intermixing Polytheiſm with Chriſtianity, or for accommodating the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Gentile Theology: But that on the contrary, it was an Apoſtolical Tradition introduced into the firſt Chriſtian Churches, that our Saviour did exiſt before the World

was

was made; and that the World was made by him; that the Doctrine of his Godhead and Incarnation could not come forth from the School of that Sorcerer *Simon*, whose Sentiments very widely differed from the Catholick Tradition of that Doctrine; and that it was impossible to have been derived, either from the Platonick Philosophers, or any Philosophical OEconomy, or Condescension to such, whom the Christians had a mind to win over to them. Here is also a particular and most accurate Account given of *Hegesippus*, and of his Sentiment concerning Christ's Person, against the Allegations of some modern Writers amongst us, against the Catholick Faith: as likewise of the primitive *Nazarens*, and of the first Bishops of *Jerusalem*, challenged as theirs by Dr. *Zwicker*'s *English* Disciples. The Reader will, besides, be here entertained with a good deal of curious and useful Learning, about the *Sibylline* Oracles and the Verses of *Orpheus*, which are cited by several of the Primitive Writers against the Heathens. In short, the whole Weight of the Controversy is here brought into a small compass; the Enemies are disarmed of their strongest Weapons; and the Matter is decided for the Catholicks, with as much Perspicuity and Solidity as can be desired.

LXXI. *Dr. Bull's Latin Works collected into one Volume by Dr. Grabe.*

In the Year 1703, Dr. *Bull*'s *Latin* Works, which had been published by himself at several

ral Times, and upon different Occaſions, as hath been already related, were collected together into one Volume in Folio; and printed by Mr. *Richard Smith*, Bookſeller in *London*. Dr. *Bull* being now advanced in Years, and oppreſſed with the Load of many Infirmities, the Reviſing and Correcting this Impreſſion, was voluntarily undertaken by his particular Friend, as well as mine, that truly great Man, Dr. *John Erneſt Grabe*, who adorned and perfected this new Edition, with his own many learned Annotations, and introduced it into the World with an admirable Preface, which did great Juſtice to our excellent Author, as well as to his learned and judicious Writings. And it will appear by a Letter of Dr. *Bull*'s, which the Reader will meet with in the following Sheets, that he had a very grateful Senſe of this great Favour of Dr. *Grabe*'s, though he was not able to requite it.

Dr. Grabe's *Character.*

But who can mention Dr. *Grabe* without a deep and particular Concern for the loſs of ſo great a Man, in the very prime of his Age, when we expected to reap the Fruit of his indefatigable Studies, which were chiefly converſant about Chriſtian Antiquities; and who by an eminent Author is very aptly compared "* to a

* *Dr.* Hickes's *Diſcourſe, concerning Dr.* Grabe *and his Manuſcripts, premiſed to,* Some Inſtances of the Defects and Omiſſions of Mr. *Whiſton*'s Collections; *by Dr.* Grabe. *Printed by* H. Clements, 1712.

" great

" great and mighty Prince, who dying, leaves " behind him many Plans of noble and curi- " ous Buildings; Foundations of others; o- " thers erected above-ground; some half, o- " thers almost, and others perfectly finished. " Such are the Remains left us by this great " Master-Builder, as may appear by the Ca- " talogue of his Manuscripts.

All the Learned, who could best judge of his great Talents, readily offer him that Incense of Praise, which is justly due to his profound Erudition; whereby he was qualified to enlighten the dark and obscure Parts of Ecclesiastical History, to trace the original Frame and State of the Christian Church, and to restore the sacred Volumes, the Pillars of our Faith, to their primitive Perfection.

He had so great a Zeal for promoting the ancient Government and Discipline of the Church, among all those who had separated themselves from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, that he formed a Plan, and made some advances in it, for restoring the Episcopal Order and Office, in the Territories of the King of *Prussia* his Sovereign; and proposed, moreover, to introduce a Liturgy, much after the Model of the *English* Service, into that King's Dominions; and recommended likewise the Use of the *English* Liturgy itself, by the means of some of his Friends, to a certain neighbouring Court. By which means he would have united the two main

Bodies of Proteſtants, in a more perfect and Apoſtolical Reformation, than that upon which either of them did yet ſtand, and would thereby have fortified the common Cauſe of their *Proteſtation* againſt the Errors of Popery. But yet his learned Studies did not ſo engroſs his Mind, as to prevent his daily attending the Hours of publick Prayer, to which purpoſe he always choſe his Lodgings near a Church: Neither did the Applauſe he received from the greateſt Men of the Age ſo exalt him, but that he readily condeſcended to converſe with thoſe of the loweſt Underſtanding, when he could be any ways ſerviceable to them in their ſpiritual Concerns.

He was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt Divines of the Age, yet the great Modeſty of his Temper, and the profound Humility of his Mind, made him prefer others before himſelf. He laid the chiefeſt Streſs upon the conſtant Practice of the Virtues of the Chriſtian Life, and was alſo a ſtrict Obſerver of all the Rules of the Apoſtolical Times, and of the Catholick Uſages of the firſt Chriſtians. He bore his laſt Sickneſs, which deprived the World of ſo great a Treaſure, with moſt exemplary Patience, and Submiſſion to the Will of God; and exerciſed all thoſe Acts of Devotion, which the beſt of Men are zealouſly intent upon in their laſt Labours for Immortality. He was very ſevere upon himſelf, even for thoſe common human Frailties, which are apt to cleave to

thoſe of the greateſt Eminence for their Sanctity, and, with true Compunction, bewailed the Neglects and Omiſſions of his Duty, which from the unſeaſonable Reſort of Company he ſometimes was forced to. And yet he thanked God from the bottom of his Heart, that through the Aſſiſtance of his Grace, he had ſo far overcome thoſe Temptations which he had met with in Life, that he never proſtituted his Conſcience for the ſake of Gain, or defiled his Body, which he always had kept pure from the mortal Sin of Uncleanneſs. He had conſtantly every Day, and frequently ſeveral times in the Day, the Office of the *Viſitation of the Sick*, with ſome proper Collects of his own chuſing, uſed by his Bed-ſide, and he commonly deſired the Impoſition of the Prieſt's Hands, when the Abſolution or Bleſſing was pronounced over him. He received the Communion of our Lord's Body and Blood with great Devotion, ſeveral times during his ſevere Viſitation, to fortify him in his Paſſage to Eternity; and was at laſt ſet at Liberty from the Bondage of his mortal Body, upon the 3^d^ of *November*, 1711, in the 46th Year of his Age. The Occaſion of this his Death was a Bruiſe which he got in his Side, at the Place of his Liver, when he made his laſt Journey to *Oxford* in the Stage-Coach, in proſecuting the noble Work he had in hand; which Accident being neglected at firſt, upon his return to *London* it became thus fatal.

Supported in his Sickneſs by the preſent Ld. High Treaſurer, Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer.*

There is one Circumſtance which related to this excellent Man, which muſt not be omitted, becauſe it tended ſo much to alleviate the Burthen of his laſt Sickneſs; and for which he was very thankful to God, and his generous Benefactor. The preſent Lord High Treaſurer, Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, that great Patron of Learning and learned Men, was in a particular manner a *Mæcenas* to Dr. *Grabe*; and during his Life-time encouraged his great Work, of publiſhing the *Alexandrian* Copy of the *Septuagint*, not only by generouſly contributing to it himſelf, but by procuring for the Doctor a large Proportion of the Royal Bounty; and when the Doctor in his Sickneſs applied to his Lordſhip, for that part of his annual Penſion which was due to him, and had been conſtantly paid him, his Lordſhip not only gratified him in what he deſired, but to ſhew his great Value and Eſteem of the Doctor, and for fear ſo great a Man ſhould want any neceſſary Comfort from the Things of this World in ſuch a gloomy Seaſon, my Lord ſent him a Supply of fifty Pounds from his own Bounty. An Action for which his Lordſhip had the repeated Prayers of a dying Saint, and for which all learned and good Men muſt praiſe him, and which will be a comfortable part of that ſtrict Account which he muſt give at the great Tribunal. And I have farther reaſon to believe, that his Lordſhip deſigns to have a CENOTAPHIUM erected in St. *Paul's*, or St. *Peter's* at *Weſtminſter*,

ster, to perpetuate the Memory of so much Piety, and so much Learning, which seldom meet together in such great Perfection as they did in Dr. *Grabe*.

LXXII. *Dr.* Bull *promoted to the Bishoprick of St.* David's.

In *February* 170⅔. Dr. *Bull* was made acquainted with Her Majesty's gracious Intentions, of conferring upon him the Bishoprick of St. *David's*, the News whereof he received with great Surprize, and with no less Concern. And considering the great Weight of that high Station in the Church, and how much Work is required to a conscientious Discharge of that Administration; and withal, the ill State of Health, under which he then laboured, and the Evening of Life, to which he was now arrived, being in the 71st Year of his Age, I do not wonder that he did at first decline engaging in that important Office. It is not without reason, that Persons of the strongest Vertue, in the Vigour of their Days, who best deserve the most honourable Employments in the Church, have been most afraid of being advanced to them: It requireth great Firmness of Mind, not to be dazled with that Honour which adorneth the Episcopal Throne; and how difficult is it to be exalted, and not to love the Pre-eminence? The Respect and Obsequiousness of Inferiors insensibly corrupt the Mind, and when Men are placed above Reproof, they quickly begin to persuade themselves that they do not stand in need of

it. What Courage and Prudence is neceſſary to oppoſe Vice, when it is countenanced by Perſons of Figure and Quality? What Poverty of Spirit to ſet looſe to the World in the midſt of the greateſt Affluence? What Heavenly-Mindedneſs to negotiate the greateſt temporal Affairs with the Indifferency of a Traveller, who ſeeketh a better Country? What Perfection of Piety to be ready to ſacrifice Fame and Reputation, nay even Life itſelf, to Conſcience and Duty; and to contemn the Favour of the greateſt upon Earth, when the Honour of God, the Rights of the Church, and the Good of Souls, are laid in the Balance? But though Dr. *Bull* was very unwilling, for the Reaſons I have already mentioned, to enter into the Epiſcopal College; yet being importuned by his Friends, who underſtood the diſtreſſed State and Condition of his Family; and what moſt prevailed, being earneſtly ſolicited by ſeveral of the Governors of the Church, which he looked upon as the Call of Providence, he was at laſt prevailed upon to accept of that elevated Station which he never ſought. And therefore might humbly hope, that God, who had called him from the Care of a Pariſh to the Government of a Dioceſe, would enable him by his holy Spirit, to diſcharge the ſeveral Duties which belonged to it; and that he who laid the Burthen upon him, would ſtrengthen him under it; and it is certain, that God proportioneth his Gifts

to

to the Wants of thoſe who depend upon him; and the Diſtributions of Grace are larger, as his wiſe Providence maketh them neceſſary.

But however difficult the Employment might prove to Dr. *Bull*, in the decline of his Strength and Vigour, it certainly concerned the Honour of the Nation, not to ſuffer a Perſon to die in an obſcure Retirement, who upon the account of his learned Performances, had ſhined with ſo much Luſtre in a neighbouring Nation, where he had received the united Thanks of her Biſhops, for the great Service he had done to the Cauſe of Chriſtianity. Accordingly, he was conſecrated Biſhop of St. *David*'s, in *Lambeth* Chapel, the 29th of *April*, 1705; upon which Occaſion there was a very good Sermon, preached by the preſent Rector of St. *Peter*'s *Cornhill*, Dr. *Waugh*; wherein he ſhewed, with great Evidence of Scripture, what kind of Rulers preſide over the Chriſtian Church; with what Power they are inveſted, and wherein that Obedience and Submiſſion conſiſteth, which is due to them; and all this was urged from thoſe remarkable Words of the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, *chap.* xiii. *v.* 17. *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and ſubmit yourſelves.* This worthy Clergyman ſucceeded Biſhop *Beveridge* in the Care of that Pariſh, and to his other Excellencies it may be mentioned with Honour, that he treadeth in the Steps of that pious Prelate in the Government of it; and that Congregation continueth ſtill diſtinguiſhed,

ed, as exemplary for Devotion in the City of *London*.

S. David's *formerly a Metropolitan See.*

The Biſhoprick of St. *David*'s, which was now conferr'd upon Dr. *Bull*, was formerly a Metropolitan See in the *Britiſh* Church, and continued a long time the ſupreme Ordinary of the *Welſh*. About the Year 519, it was removed hither, from *Caer-Leon* upon *Uſk*, as a proper Shelter from the Fury of the *Saxons*. The Place at that time was called by the *Welſh*, *Menew*, but ſince, in Memory of *David*, the Archbiſhop, who ſo tranſlated it, by us called St. *David*'s; but it is from the firſt Name, that the Biſhops of this Dioceſe are in *Latin* ſtyled *Menevenſes*. Now as to theſe Biſhops of St. *David*'s, we find that twenty ſeven of them retained the Title of Archbiſhops: The laſt whereof was *Sampſon*, who in a time of Peſtilence, transferred the Archiepiſcopal Dignity to *Dole* in *Bretagne*. Yet his Succeſſors, though they loſt the Name, preſerved the Power of an Archbiſhop; nor did the Reſidue of the *Welſh* Biſhops receive their Conſecration from any other Hand but his, 'till the Reign of *Henry* I. who upon ſubduing the Country, forced the *Welſh* Churches, in the time of *Bernard*, the forty ſeventh Biſhop of this See, to ſubmit to the See of *Canterbury*.

The Dioceſe containeth the whole Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Radnor*, and *Brecknock*, with ſome ſmall part of *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *Montgomery*, and *Glamorgan-ſhires*;

ſhires; the Pariſhes under this Juriſdiction amount to about 308, of which 120 are accounted Impropriations; beſides ſeveral ſubordinate Chapels, which have been built in ſeveral Pariſhes for the Eaſe of the People; the whole Dioceſe is govern'd, under the Biſhop, by four Archdeacons, with the Titles of *Cardigan*, *Caermarthen*, *Brecknock*, and St. *David's*.

He buries his Son, Mr. George Bull, *from whom he expected Aſſiſtance.*

There was one Circumſtance which ſupported Biſhop *Bull*, under the Senſe of his Inability to diſcharge the Epiſcopal Function, and which had a great Influence upon him, in the determining him to accept it; and that was, the Aſſiſtance he expected from his eldeſt Son, Mr. *George Bull*, a Clergyman, in the very Flower of his Age, being then about five and thirty.

Mr. Bull's Character.

He was a Perſon truly ſober and religious, as well as learned and underſtanding in his own Profeſſion. He had ſpent ſeventeen Years at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and was eſteemed one of the Ornaments of that Society, where all polite and ſolid Learning hath been uſed to flouriſh in Perfection. In this Place, he was not only formed himſelf to Piety and Learning, but as a Tutor, he had formed others to the ſame valuable Qualifications; and with Diligence and Succeſs, had cultivated the Minds of ſeveral Gentlemen, and had regulated their Manners. The Senſe of this Obligation made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon one of his Pupils, the worthy Sir *Bourchier Wrey*,

Wrey, Baronet, that he became Mr. *Bull*'s Patron, and preferred him to the Rectory of *Tawſtock* in *Devonſhire*, after he had laboured ſome Years in doing Good by his Preaching in the Neighbourhood of *Oxford*; and not long after, upon the Promotion of his Father, by the Grace and Favour of the Queen, he was in his room made Archdeacon of *Landaff*. But alas! the reaſonable Expectation his Lordſhip had from this his excellent Son, quickly vaniſhed, for in two Years time, being in *London* with his Father, he was attacked by the Small Pox, which he received as a Diſpenſation from the Hand of God, with a compoſed Mind, entirely reſigned to his Holy Will; and having fortified himſelf with his Viaticum, the Holy Euchariſt, and having commended himſelf into the Hands of the bleſſed Jeſus, with a firm Hope of immortal Life, promiſed by him, and purchaſed by his Merits, he did with great Quietneſs of Mind expect the Approach of Death; which put an end to his Days the 11th of *May*, 1707, in the 37th Year of his Age, to the great Grief of his tender Parents, and dear Friends, and of all good and learned Men who were happy in his Acquaintance. And though his natural Judgment was ſtrong, and his Apprehenſion quick, and his Learning worthy of that Society where he was educated, yet he chiefly excelled in Piety and Holineſs of Life, which was crowned and compleated with ſingular Modeſty and Chriſtian Humi-

Humility, which in the ſight of God is of great Price.

A Specimen of this his great Modeſty and Humility I am able to give the Reader, in the beginning of a Letter which he writ to me, ten Years before his Death, the Occaſion whereof was this. Having been obliged to apply to him for his Aſſiſtance, in a Concern which I had at the Univerſity of *Oxford*; I took notice of the Pleaſure and Satisfaction I received from his good Character, which had been confirmed to me by ſeveral of his Acquaintance; to which he was pleaſed to make the following Reply.

A Teſtimony of his Humility, in a Letter to Mr. Nelſon.

Oxon. Ch. Ch. July 27. 1697.

SIR,

YOU were pleaſed to favour me with an unexpected Letter; and therein to ſignifie to me, the good Character thoſe of this place you have met with, give of me. I find common Fame, how uncharitable ſoever it is to others, has been too kind to me, in aſcribing to me, what I muſt confeſs to you, I do not deſerve. Which convinces me, that a very little thing is ſufficient to bring a Man into the good, as well as the ill Opinion of others. But every Man that can think impartially is his own beſt Judge in this

Caſe.

Case. And therefore I hope I may say, that I know myself so well, as to see the Opinion others have of me, to be a thing that tells me, not what I am, but what I ought to be. Indeed I acknowledge to you, (and I think myself obliged so to do) that I am a Servant of the great God, though but a weak and imperfect one. As for other things, I must tell you, (and I am not ashamed to own it) that my Improvements here in the University have been as mean, as my Education was before I came hither: Pardon me, Sir, for this taking notice of the beginning of your Letter; for I could not restrain myself from it; because you are not the first by many, that intimated to me how well others speak of me. And I look upon it as a special Providence of God in bringing these things to my hearing, to mortifie me for what I really am, and to stir me up to endeavour to be what I am not. But enough of this, Sir, and I tell it only to you, knowing to whom I write. For perhaps to some, such a Letter might render me ridiculous.

Now for a Person to have Mr. *Bull*'s Acquirements of Learning and Piety, with so mean an Opinion of them himself, will be thought by all good Christians, to be no small degree of the most valuable Vertue of Humility. This Loss was a very great Affliction to the good old Bishop, and the greater, from those Circumstances of Life, in which he was then engaged; but yet through the Assistance

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of God's Grace, he did not ſink under it, his Heart was fixed, truſting in the Lord.

He takes his Seat in the Houſe of Lords at the time of the Union.

The Biſhop took his Seat in the Houſe of Lords in a moſt critical Conjuncture, even in that memorable Seſſion, when the Bill for uniting both Kingdoms paſſed into a Law; and when not a few were in the greateſt Apprehenſions concerning our Church, and were for conſidering thence the beſt Methods of ſecuring it to Poſterity, together with the Union. Wherefore upon a Debate in the Houſe, in relation to the ſaid Bill, a certain noble Lord, of a very eminent Character, moved in a Speech, that ſince the Parliament of *Scotland* had given a Character of their Church, by extolling the *Purity of its Worſhip*, their Lordſhips ſhould not be behind-hand, in giving a Character of the *beſt conſtituted Church in the World*. For, ſaith he, (turning himſelf towards the Bench of Biſhops) my Lords, I have been always taught by my Lords the Biſhops from my Youth, *that the Church of* England *is the beſt conſtituted Church in the World, and moſt agreeable to the Apoſtolical Inſtitution.* Upon which, Biſhop *Bull*, who ſate very near his Lordſhip, apprehending how upon ſuch an Appeal to the Biſhops, it was neceſſary for them to ſay ſomething, ſtood up and ſaid; "My Lords, I do ſecond what that noble "Lord hath moved, and do think it highly "reaſonable, that in this Bill a Character "ſhould be given of our moſt excellent "Church.

" Church. For, my Lords, whoſoever is " skilled in primitive Antiquity, muſt allow " it for a certain and evident Truth, that the " Church of *England* is, in her Doctrine, Diſ- " cipline, and Worſhip, moſt agreeable to the " Primitive and Apoſtolical Inſtitution. The Biſhop of St. *David's* coming out of the Houſe, Biſhop *Beveridge* and another Biſhop thanked his Lordſhip for his excellent Speech; and ſaid Biſhop *Beveridge*, *My Lord, if you and I had the penning of the Bill, it ſhould be in the manner your Lordſhip hath moved.* Upon which, Biſhop *Bull* made ſuch a Reply, as repreſented the neceſſity he lay under of thus diſcharging his Duty, when ſo ſolemnly called upon in the greateſt Court of the Nation: And it is certainly at all times the indiſpenſable Obligation of all the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, to behave themſelves with an holy Boldneſs and undaunted Reſolution, in the Affairs of God and Religion, without being awed or biaſſed by the Torrent of the Times, or made ſordidly to crouch to a prevailing Power of worldly Politicians, who are for carrying on their own ſiniſter Deſigns at any rate, though always under the moſt ſpecious Pretexts.

LXXIII. *The Biſhop, in* July *after his Conſecration, goes into his Dioceſe.*

About *July* after his Lordſhip was conſecrated, he went into his Dioceſe; being reſolved to employ the remainder of his Strength and Vigour in that Service of his Maſter, the great

great Biſhop of Souls, to which he was now called. He was received by the Gentry and Clergy with all imaginable demonſtrations of Reſpect, which increaſed in proportion as they grew more intimately acquainted with his ſolid Worth. The Epiſcopal Palace at *Aberguilly* being much out of Repair, he made choice of *Brecknock* for the place of his Reſidence, being the chief Town in the County of that Name, placed almoſt in the Center thereof. Here King *Henry* the Eighth conſtituted a Collegiate Church, conſiſting of fourteen Prebendaries, which he tranſlated to this place, from *Aberguilly* in *Caermarthenſhire*. This Town aboundeth with great numbers of poor People, who looked upon the good Biſhop as a guardian Angel, ſent to comfort and relieve them, under their preſſing Wants and Neceſſities. And herein they were not miſtaken, as will appear by what ſhall be related in reference to that Subject, when the Biſhop removed from thence, to another Seat in his Dioceſe. When he was ſettled at this place, his firſt Care was to apply himſelf to underſtand the State and Condition of that Diſtrict, which was committed to his Care. Now in order to this purpoſe, he deſigned that Summer to viſit his Dioceſe himſelf in perſon; and did begin at *Brecknock*, where he delivered his Charge to the Clergy, conſiſting in an earneſt and pathetical Exhortation, wherein he ſtirred them up, by way of remembrance, to a ſteddy and vigo-

rous Profecution of the Duties of their ſacred Function. But it pleaſed God, to prevent the farther Execution of his good Purpoſes, by ſending him a ſevere Illneſs, which put an end to his Progreſs at that time. But ſtill, that he might not want that Information, which was neceſſary to enable him to rectifie any thing which was amiſs under his Government, he committed this Truſt to ſeveral Commiſſioners, of which the chief was Mr. *William Powel*, Rector of *Langaſtock*, and Prebendary of *Brecknock*, with others, the moſt conſiderable in the ſeveral Deaneries. By which means he was better able to judge, where his Authority and Power was moſt wanting to reform any prevailing Abuſes; and what Meaſures might be taken to remedy them.

The Biſhop appoints a Triennial Viſitation by Commiſſioners.

And becauſe it may be proper, to finiſh this Head of his Viſitations under this Article, I muſt acquaint the Reader, that three Years after this, his Lordſhip appointed a Triennial Viſitation; but not being able, through Weakneſs and continued Indiſpoſitions, to bear the fatigue of Travelling, he conſtituted his worthy Son-in-law, Mr. *Stevens*, the preſent Archdeacon of *Brecknock*, and Reſidentiary Canon of St. *David's*, with Mr. *William Powel* before-mentioned, to be his Commiſſioners, to viſit in his ſtead. Mr. *Stevens* delivered the Charge, which the Biſhop had prepared, under the hopes of appearing himſelf in all the parts of his Dioceſe, in every Archdeaconry.

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The Sum whereof was, to set before his Clergy, the principal Parts and Branches of their Pastoral Office, with Rules and Directions, for the most successful manner of performing them. The main Duties of their Function he maketh to consist, in reading the Prayers of the Church, in Preaching, in Catechizing, in administring the holy Sacraments, and in visiting the Sick. And as to the manner of performing the principal Parts of their Office, the Directions he giveth are these. To read Divine Service *audibly*, that all who are present may join in it; *distinctly* and leisurely that they may not out-run the Attention and Devotion of the People; and with *great reverence* and devotion, so as to kindle pious Affections in the Congregation. For thus, he saith, the Prayers of the Church are to be read, both in order to keep up the Reputation of them, and to render them useful to the People. To qualifie them for Preaching, he pressed the Knowledge and Understanding of the holy Scriptures; and in order thereunto, some Skill in the learned Languages, with good Judgment and Discretion, and not without a tolerable Share of Elocution. He advised young Divines, not to trust at first to their own Compositions, but to furnish themselves with a Provision of the best Sermons, which the learned Divines of our Church have published; that by reading them often, and by endeavouring to imitate them, they may acquire

The Sum of the Charge prepared by the Bishop.

quire a habit of good Preaching themſelves. And where, through Poverty, or any other Impediment, Miniſters are incapable of diſcharging this Duty as they ought, he directed them to uſe the Homilies of the Church, and ſometimes to read a Chapter to the People, out of that excellent Book, called, *The whole Duty of Man.* As to Catechizing, he juſt hints at the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of it; and required the Church-Wardens to preſent the neglect of it, that he might by his Authority rectifie it. As to the Adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments, he enjoined them to perform Baptiſm in publick, and chiefly on Sundays and Holy-days, when the Aſſemblies of Chriſtians are fulleſt; and in order to reform the Abuſes of that kind, he reſolved to exert his Epiſcopal Power. He exhorted to great Reverence and Solemnity in officiating at the Altar, and to the obſervation of every Punctilio, according to the Rubricks compiled for that Pupoſe; and eſpecially to take care, not to adminiſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to Perſons known to be vicious and ſcandalous. As to viſiting the Sick, the Parochial Prieſt is directed to go without being ſent for, when he hears any of his Pariſhioners are under the afflicting Hand of God, and to perform the Duty, according to the Rules preſcribed by the Church; from whence alſo, he took occaſion to preſs the parochial Clergy, to acquaint themſelves with their Flock, when they are in health, in order

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to promote the great End of their own Function, the Salvation of Souls. He concluded what he had to ſay to the Clergy, in a ſerious Exhortation to them, to become Examples to their People of eminent Piety and Holineſs, which they are obliged to, not only as Chriſtians, but as Prieſts of the Living God; and farther, to be diligent in the Buſineſs of their holy Function; the Importance whereof, was too great to admit the leaſt Indulgence to Sloth and Idleneſs. And laſtly, perſuaded them to the frequent Uſe of private Prayer, which is neceſſary for their own Direction, as well as to ſet forward the Salvation of thoſe Souls which are committed to their Inſpection. He ends his Charge with a Word to the Laity, that they would be perſuaded, to reſpect their Paſtors for the Lord's Sake, and to throw a Veil over thoſe perſonal Defects, which were in common to them with the reſt of Mankind; and moreover, that they would be ſtrictly juſt in paying them their Dues; that the little they have, they may have in Quiet. He concluded the whole, in putting Church-Wardens in mind, of not perjuring themſelves for Fear or Favour; but to be honeſt, and preſent Matters according to the beſt of their Skill and Knowledge. But a fuller account of this Charge, the Reader will find among his Diſcourſes, which are now publiſhed, where it is printed at large.

LXXIV. *The Biſhop Confirms in ſeveral Places.*

It was matter of great Grief to the good Biſhop, that by the Decay of his Strength, and by his frequent Indiſpoſitions, he was prevented from travelling over his Dioceſe, in order to adminiſter in all the Parts of it, that Holy Apoſtolical Rite grounded upon Scripture, as expounded by Catholick Tradition, which for ſome time hath been known and diſtinguiſhed in the Church, by the Name of *Confirmation*; and which in the primitive Times was more frequently called *Obſignation* and *Unction*, from the ſacred Chriſm, wherewith the Perſons confirmed, were wont to be anointed with the Biſhop, and which, with the Impoſition of Hands, was the Symbol of conferring the Baptiſmal Spirit. The great Uſefulneſs of this holy Inſtitution, is manifeſt from the many Benefits which attend it; for hereby Perſons already baptiſed, receive an Increaſe of divine Grace, and larger Meaſures of ſpiritual Strength are conferred to enable them to diſcharge their baptiſmal Engagements, and to carry them to higher Degrees of Improvement in all Chriſtian Vertues. But though he was thus hinder'd from making theſe happy Effects of Confirmation, univerſal in his large Dioceſe, yet where he reſided, and in the Neighbourhood of ſuch Places, he was not wanting in affording Opportunities, to all ſuch as were diſpoſed to embrace them; and therefore he confirmed at *Brecknock*, *Caermarthen*,

then, Landeilo, Abermarleſs, as often as there was occaſion.

The Care he took in ordaining Deacons and Prieſts.

The *September* after the Biſhop came into his Dioceſe, he had a publick Ordination; and the ſame time every Year, was by him employed after the ſame manner. After the other Ember Seaſons he ordained but a ſmall Number, more or leſs, as occaſion required. The Warning St. *Paul* gave to *Timothy, to lay hands ſuddenly on no Man*, is not only of the higheſt Importance to the Governors of the Church, who are intruſted with the Power of conſtituting Officers for the Service of the Church; but is alſo of the greateſt Conſequence to the whole Body in general, who are the Subjects upon whom that Power and Authority is exerciſed. It is certain, that Biſhops muſt anſwer at the Day of Judgment, for any Neglect they ſhall be guilty of, in admitting Perſons not duly qualified for the ſacred Function; which made St. *Chryſoſtome* think, that of all Men, Biſhops would have the greateſt Account to give at the dreadful Tribunal, and would find the greateſt Difficulty in working out their Salvation. But it is not leſs certain, that the Church, the Body of Chriſt, receiveth the moſt mortal Wounds from her own Sons, and that ſhe hath ſuffered more from the Ambition and Pride, the Luxury and Covetouſneſs, and temporizing of bad Prieſts, than even from the Perſecution of Tyrants themſelves. So that it is no wonder if a Biſhop,

rightly disposed to discharge that important Trust committed to his Management, is under no little Concern, when he admitteth Candidates to Holy Orders.

The manner of Bishop Bull's *treating the Candidates of Holy Orders.*

The first thing therefore that Bishop *Bull* required of such Candidates, was, that they should make their personal Appearance before him, at least a Month before Ordination Sunday. At such their Appearance, they produced their Testimonials and Titles, and were examined by one of his Chaplains, and also by himself, as often as the State of his Health would permit. The Design of this Examination was to judge of their Sufficiency, as to their Knowledge and Capacity, for the weighty Business in which they solicited to engage. This Method he so strictly insisted upon, that he refused several, for appearing later than the time prescribed, without admitting them to Examination. Now what the Bishop chiefly proposed, by requiring this Early Appearance, was, that he might have sufficient time to inquire into the Characters of the Candidates, and into the Characters of those, who had subscribed their Testimonials; as likewise into the Circumstances of such Persons, from whom they had their Titles. Upon the last Subject, the Matter of his Enquiries was, whether they who gave the Title had really an Occasion for a Curate; and whether the Benefice or Benefices they enjoy'd, could maintain an Incumbent and a Curate, allowing the

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latter a competent Salary. And finding that the Allowances which ſome Incumbents gave, under the general Terms of a *competent Salary*, which are the Words commonly made uſe of in Forms of Titles, were not always a ſufficient Maintenance, nor bore any Proportion to what the Benefice could afford, he made it a Rule, not to admit of any Title, which ran only in ſuch general Terms, except the very Sum they deſigned to allow, was expreſly mentioned in the Body of the Title.

Beſides the Trial he made of their Attainments as Scholars, he would ask many Queſtions, in order to diſcover, whether they could give a good account of their Faith, and to find out the inward Temper and Complexion of their Souls. Whether they had a true Senſe of Religion upon their Minds, and whether they were inwardly moved to undertake that moſt difficult, as well as deſireable Employment. At the ſame time, he laid before them, the Nature, Dignity, and Importance of that Holy Function to which they were to be admitted; and gave them Directions, how to prepare themſelves for the receiving their ſpiritual Powers, eſpecially in the time that intervened, between their Appearance and their ſolemn Admiſſion. He uſually exhorted them, to ſpend a large part of that Seaſon in Faſting and Prayer, becauſe the higheſt Pitch of human Learning is very ineffectual, to cure the Diſeaſes of the Mind, without

out the Aſſiſtance of God's Grace; and there is no depending upon the greateſt Abilities for this Work, except they are ſupported by Help from Above. He particularly recommended to the Candidates, a frequent and ſerious Peruſal of the whole Office of Ordination, but eſpecially the Queſtions and Anſwers; upon each of which he deſired them to dwell for ſome time, in order to give themſelves Leiſure to examine their own Diſpoſitions, and to form ſincere and vigorous Reſolutions, faithfully to diſcharge thoſe ſeveral Duties of their Function which they were obliged to undertake, and that in ſo ſolemn a manner, upon their Admiſſion to it. He took occaſion alſo, now to explain to them that were entering into the Order of Deacons, the meaning of that Queſtion in the Office of Ordaining them, *Do you truſt, that you are inwardly called by the Holy Ghoſt, to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration.* His Diſcourſe to them upon this Subject, led him to inform them, how far, and in what Degree, the Proſpect of getting a Livelihood or Maintenance by that Profeſſion, may be allowed to be a juſtifiable Motive of undertaking it.

His Exhortations to them after Ordination. After they were ordained, and had received their Inſtruments, the Biſhop diſmiſſed them, with an earneſt and affectionate Exhortation, to be diligent in their Studies, ſober and exemplary in their Lives and Converſations, and careful and conſcientious in the Diſcharge of

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the Duties of their sacred Function, in those Places, where by their Titles they were to be employed; charging them to make it their chief Business and Endeavour, to answer the End of their Profession, by being useful in it, and to employ their Care and Time, rather to deserve than seek Preferment. He endeavoured to persuade them, that, generally speaking, the most certain, as well as the most primitive Method of advancing themselves, was to be diligent and studious in their present Station, and quietly to continue in it for some time, till their own Merits should raise them to a better Post in the Church; and not to be over forward in making Application themselves, or to solicite the Interest and Application of Friends in their Behalf, which are sometimes so many and so pressing, that they put a conscientious and good-natured Patron under a great Deal of Difficulty and Uneasiness; and upon Occasions of that Nature, Bishop *Bull* would lament that he had any Preferments in his Gift. He was much troubled, when he was under a Necessity of ordaining Persons who were but meanly qualified, which could not be avoided sometimes in that Country, where the Clergy are so meanly provided for; when he had admitted Persons into Orders of a more liberal Education, and of some Sufficiency as to their Fortunes, he advised and recommended the reading the Fathers of the Church, next to the Holy Scriptures, at least those of the three

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firſt Centuries. This Degree of Skill and Acquaintance with primitive Antiquity, he looked upon, not only as uſeful, but abſolutely neceſſary, to ſupport the Character of a Prieſt, whoſe Lips are to preſerve Knowledge. Theſe Books, he ſaid, he recommended to their diligent and ſerious Peruſal, not only to inform their Judgment, but to influence their Practice; ſince they had a great Tendency to refine their Morals, and raiſe their Affections to heavenly Things; being writ with ſuch a lively Spirit of Piety and Devotion, as is not to be met with in the Writings of later Centuries.

And farther, to ſhew the Deference the Biſhop paid to the conſentient Teſtimony of the primitive Writers, and with what ſort of Spirit they ought to be read by the Candidates of Divinity, I ſhall here, for their ſakes, tranſcribe a very remarkable Paſſage, from his Diſcourſe concerning *the State of Man before the Fall*, &c. wherein, after our Author had juſtified the concurrent Interpretation of a Text of Scripture by the Catholick Doctors, he ſpeaks after this manner, "*You will now, I pre-"ſume, eaſily pardon this large Digreſſion, "being in itſelf not unuſeful, and being alſo "neceſſary, to remove a Stone of Offence of-"ten caſt in the way of the Reader, that con-"verſeth with the Writings of the ancient Fa-"thers. Nay, moreover, I ſhall perſuade my

*Vol. 3. p. 1138, 1139. *Biſhop* Bull's *Engliſh Works.*

"ſelf,

"self, that from this one Instance among many, you will learn from henceforth, the "Modesty of submitting your Judgment to "that of the Catholick Doctors, where they "are found, generally to concur in the In"terpretation of a Text of Scripture, how ab"surd soever that Interpretation may at first "seem to be. For upon a diligent Search, you "will find that *aliquid latet quod non patet*, "there is a Mystery in the bottom, and that "what at first View, seemed very ridiculous, "will afterwards appear to be an important "Truth. Let them therefore, who reading "the Fathers, are prone to laugh at that in "them, which they do not presently under"stand, seriously consider, *quanto suo periculo "id faciant.*

LXXV. *He endeavours to reform the administring Baptism in private.*

Among other Irregularities, which the Bishop found had prevailed in his Diocese, was the general Custom of administring publick Baptism in private Houses. This he declared againſt, as an absurd and uncanonical Practice; *absurd*, as being inconsistent with the Design and Words of the Office, drawn up for that purpose; which all along supposeth it to be used in the Church, in the presence of the Congregation; and *uncanonical*, as being directly contrary to the express Words of the 81st Canon. His Lordship took a great deal of Pains, both in his Charge to the Clergy, and in his Discourses with them and the Laity,

ty, to convince them of the Unreasonableness and Irregularity of that Custom; and though his Endeavours in this Matter did not meet with that entire Success, which he expected and desired, yet in a great many Parishes I am credibly informed, this irregular Practice was wholly laid aside, and in all other places in that Diocese, I hear it is very much disused, though not quite abolished. Indeed his Conversation with his Clergy, was upon all occasions grave and serious, and related chiefly to the Condition of their Parishes, and the Disposition of their People, and the Discharge of their own Duties, especially in Catechizing, and visiting the Sick. Sometimes he would represent the Difficulty and Importance, as well as the Dignity of their Office; at another time, the great Obligations they lay under, of being Devout and Studious as much as might be, and of using their utmost Endeavours to destroy Vice and Error, and to build up their People in Faith and Holiness; and never failed, frequently to put them in mind of the horrible Punishment which would ensue, if any Soul should miscarry through their Negligence.

He frequently expressed his dislike of Lay-Impropriations.

Though the Bishop was a great admirer of the Constitution of the Church of *England*, as being in the main, founded upon the best and purest Antiquity; yet he often lamented her distressed State, from the decay of ancient Discipline, and from those Divisions which prevailed

vailed in the Kingdom; and more particularly, from the great number of Lay-Impropriations. The last of these he looked upon as the occasion of the two former, upon which he said, several good Men, called the Alienation of Tythes, the Scandal of the Reformation; and that they esteemed it, the great Blemish of the happy Restoration, that there was no care taken at that time of the Interest of the Church of *England*, in respect to the Revenues of it. All the Impropriations might easily have been purchased in those Days, when the national Funds were all clear, and such vast Arrears in all Bishopricks, as, if laid out to that use, would very much have lessened the number of them. When the Bishop talked upon this Subject, he would often mention with pleasure, the Wisdom and Goodness of the Queen, in her Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy; and he hoped, that several of her Subjects, led by the Example of her Royal Bounty, would of their own Plenty, cast their Mites into this Treasury, and so render it effectual to those Purposes her Majesty intended it. This Design he thought would be more easily carried on, if some rich Impropriators could be prevailed upon, to restore to the Church some part of her Revenues, which they had too long retained, to the great Prejudice of the Church, and very often to the ruin of their Families, by that secret Curse, which is the usual Attendant of

sacri-

ſacrilegious Poſſeſſions. He was able to give Inſtances of this kind, in ſome Families of his Acquaintance; and in this Point, my Lord ſeemed to concur with the Opinion of Sir *Henry Spelman.*

Though he was always in his Judgment againſt Lay-Impropriations, yet he was never ſo ſenſible of the great Inconveniencies which attend them, till he came into the Dioceſe of St. *David's*, where they are very numerous; and the Salaries allowed the Curates by the Impropriators, too mean and inconſiderable to make a tolerable Maintenance. The Biſhop applied himſelf to ſeveral of theſe Impropriators, in hopes to have prevailed with them, to advance their Salaries to a competent Subſiſtence, having ſtill a due Regard to the number of Inhabitants in each Pariſh, and to the value of the Profits they received from it. But the little Succeſs he met with in theſe Applications, put him upon inquiring, how far it might lie in his own Power to remedy this Grievance, and redreſs the juſt Complaints of the poor Curates. And it was his Opinion, that there was ſufficient Authority veſted in the Biſhop, to aſcertain the Salaries of all Curates within his own Dioceſe, whether they were employed under a Clergyman, or a Lay-Impropriator. As for the Biſhop's Power in the former Caſe, it was never queſtioned, and he ſaw no reaſon why it ſhould not be allowed in the latter; and had my Lord lived to have ſeen *London*

once

once more, he deſigned to have diſcourſed his Brethren the Biſhops, on this momentous Affair, and to have received farther Advice and Direction concerning it. For if the Biſhops have ſuch a Power, they ought by all means to inſiſt upon it, when it is ſo plain and evident, that a due Exerciſe of that part of the Epiſcopal Authority, would be of ſuch great Advantage at this time, towards promoting the Chriſtian Religion, as profeſt in the Church of *England*; for the ſlender Salaries of theſe Impropriators, make it impoſſible to have thoſe Places ſerved by able Miniſters, and where ſuch are wanting, the diſſenting Teachers of all denominations, who are wiſe and induſtrious enough to improve all Advantages againſt the Church, will be ſure to lay hold of ſuch Opportunities, to ſet up their Meeting-houſes in ſuch Pariſhes, where they have ſo fair a proſpect of making Proſelytes to their ſeveral Parties. Nor muſt the Lay-Impropriators bear the blame of all the Inconveniencies the Church ſuffereth upon this account; for it is too apparent, that ſome Colleges and ſeveral Chapters are extremely negligent in this matter. When this good Biſhop was Prebendary of *Gloceſter*, that Chapter made a ſtrict Enquiry into the value of the ſeveral Vicarages which belonged to them, and made very handſom Augmentations in thoſe places, where they were wanting; and I am informed, that the Dean and Chapter of *Worceſter*, have long

ſince conſidered the ſame Matter, to the ſame good Purpoſes; and it is to be wiſhed, that other Colleges and Chapters would follow ſuch good Examples, and thereby effectually put a ſtop to thoſe Reproaches which have been thrown upon them, for making as mean and ſcanty Allowances for the Service of the Cures which belong to them, as any of the Lay-Impropriators do for the Service of theirs.

The manner of governing his Family while he was Biſhop.

He purſued the ſame Method in the Government of his Family, while he was Biſhop, which he practiſed during his Confinement to a private Station; his Deſire and Endeavour was, to have it regulated according to that excellent Form recommended to us in Scripture, by the Example of *Joſhua* and *David*; and in order to introduce this, he took care, in the firſt place, to have them inſtructed in the Principles of Religion, and then gave them frequent and earneſt Exhortations to a holy Life, and grave and friendly Reproofs when neceſſary; to which he added a bright Example of Piety and Devotion, that as by his Inſtructions he taught them how to know their Duty, ſo by the Pattern he ſet before them, they might learn how to practiſe it. He had Prayers in his Family twice every Day, Morning and Evening; and while he reſided at *Brecknock*, he and as many as could be ſpared, went conſtantly to publick Prayers at Church. He continued the Cuſtom which he had always uſed, of having ſome religious Exerciſes performed

formed

formed in his Family upon a Sunday Evening; and ſome part of that excellent Book, called *The whole Duty of Man*, or of ſome other practical Treatiſe in Divinity was read to them; which he deſigned chiefly for the Benefit of the Servants, who could not attend the publick Worſhip; but the Biſhop himſelf and all his Family, as well as his Servants, were preſent at it. And certainly, a Day ſet apart, on purpoſe for the Worſhip and Honour of God, and the ſpiritual Improvement of our Souls, and for our preparation for Eternity, ought chiefly to be employed to ſuch religious Ends; and Maſters of Families cannot better diſcharge the great Truſt which is repoſed in them upon ſuch Occaſions, than by inſtructing their Children, Servants and other Dependents, in the neceſſary Knowledge of Religion, and by raiſing their Minds to a ſteddy purſuit of thoſe things which belong to their Peace, before they are hid from their Eyes. He was ſtrict and careful in his Enquiries, concerning the Character and Behaviour of his Servants, eſpecially as it related to their abſence from Prayers, or to their neglect in not receiving the Holy Communion; even one of the laſt times he received the bleſſed Sacrament, which was the Lord's Day before he was confined by his laſt Sickneſs, finding two of his Servants to be abſent, he ſent for them, and ſeverely reproved them for their Neglect; and then declared, that he was fully determined, never to keep a Servant in his Houſe,

that perſiſted in the Omiſſion of ſo great a Duty, and therefore, if they had a mind to continue in his Service, they muſt reſolve to be conſtant Communicants.

LXXVI. *His ſeveral Methods of Charity.*

As the good Biſhop's Income increaſed, ſo did the Exerciſe of his Charity; and during the time of his ſitting in that See, his Hoſpitality and his Alms were much too large for his Revenues; but he never had ſo mean a Deſign, as to * raiſe an Eſtate from the Income of any Church-Preferment, and though he brought a good Patrimony into the Service of the Church, yet when God called him to his Reſt he left none behind him. He contented himſelf to make a very ſlender Proviſion for his Family, which, with God's Bleſſing, he eſteemed the beſt Inheritance. His Doors were always thronged with the Poor and Needy, who found Comfort and Support from his Bounty; and all the time he lived at *Brecknock*, which is a very poor Town, about ſixty neceſſitous People, truly indigent, were fed with Meat, or ſerved with Money, every Lord's Day at Dinner-time; and he allowed very largely to Widows and Orphans in the ſame place, and ſent liberally to relieve the Diſtreſs of neceſſitous Priſoners; and ſad were the Cries and Lamentations of

* Gloria Epiſcopi eſt pauperum opibus providere. Ignominia omnium Sacerdotum propriis ſtudere divitiis. S. *Hieron. ad Nepotianum.*

thoſe

those destitute Wretches, when the Bishop was forced to leave that Place for a freer Air at *Abermarlefs*, which was a little more than half a Year before he died.

As he had made large Expences in repairing the Parsonage Houses of *Suddington* and *Avening*, where he had been Rector for several Years, which amounted at least to five hundred Pounds; so now he procured the College-Chapel at *Brecknock*, part whereof was fallen down, to be put into that good Repair in which it appears at present; but towards the effecting of this, he prevailed with the far greatest part of the Prebendaries to allow one half Year's reserved Rent.

He was very charitable to poor Clergy-Mens Widows or Children, when they came to compound for their Mortuaries. Now a Mortuary is a customary Duty, supposed to be due for Tythes and Oblations neglected to be paid by the Deceased; so that it is not due by Law, as my Lord * *Coke* observeth, but by Custom. And it was not only customary to pay this Duty, but it was usual to bring it to the Church when the Corps was buried, and then to offer it as a Satisfaction for the supposed Negligence in substracting Tythes, and from hence, as Mr. † *Selden* tells us, it was called a *Crose-*

* 2d *Instit.* p. 491. † *History of Tythes*, 287. *Sir* William Dugdale, *in his Antiquities of* Warwickshire, *hath a learned Discourse upon Mortuaries*, p. 679

preſent. His Method upon ſuch Occaſions was this, when any Clergy-man died poor, or but in indifferent Circumſtances, and left many Children behind him, and thoſe unprovided for, he always remitted the Mortuary, and gave them ſome good Exhortations; and in order the better to make them effectual, he adminiſtred to them ſome ſeaſonable Relief, by way of Preſent, if the Difficulty of their Caſe required it. And it is farther aſſerted, by thoſe who were intimately acquainted with his Lordſhip's Proceedings, that he was very kind to all his Clergy in their Compoſitions, and to prevent any Oppreſſion from the Management of his Steward, he gave himſelf the trouble of ſettling theſe Matters. And it is the Opinion of ſome that very well underſtand this Affair, that it would be of great Importance to the Welfare of that Dioceſe, if ſome certain Method could be fixed on to make Clergy-mens Widows more eaſy in this reſpect.

Sometimes in the Diſpoſition of his Charity, the Biſhop had a particular Regard to the Good of Souls; and becauſe it is very difficult to inſtruct thoſe in the neceſſary Principles of Religion, who are grown old in Ignorance, he therefore enticed ſuch by a pecuniary Allowance to ſubmit themſelves to receive Knowledge. It is certain, that the Extremities of old Age participate in ſome Degree of the weak and helpleſs Condition of Childhood, and what makes it ſtill much more lamentable

ble is, when the Mind, for want of due Cultivating in the preceding Stages of Life, is altogether deſtitute of thoſe Chriſtian Principles which ſhould then ſupport and comfort it. And therefore a Charity of this Nature, which endeavoured to repair the Omiſſions of a neglected Education, was of the greateſt Importance; becauſe Perſons in that Condition ſtood upon the Brink of Eternity, without having made that Proviſion which was neceſſary to ſecure the Happineſs of ſo great a Change. He allowed therefore twelve Pence a Week apiece to twelve old People of *Brecknock*, upon Condition that they would ſubmit to learn the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, and be ready and willing to give an Account of them.

When the Biſhop came to live at *Brecknock*, they had publick Prayers in that Place only upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, but by his Care, during his Stay there, they have Prayers now every Morning and Evening in the Week. The Method he took to eſtabliſh this daily Exerciſe of Devotion was briefly this: Upon his viſiting the College in that Town, he made the following Propoſal to the Prebendaries, that whereas they had each of them a certain yearly Stipend under the Name of a Penſion out of their reſpective Prebends, towards reading of daily Prayers in the College-Chapel, which by reaſon of its Diſtance from the Body of the Town, were very little frequented, and indeed hard-

ly by any but the Scholars of the Free-School, which is adjoining to it; whether it would not be a very uſeful and acceptable Piece of Service to the Town, if thoſe Penſions ſhould be applied to encourage the Vicar of *Brecknock* to perform daily the Morning and Evening Service in the Town Church or Chapel, as it is uſually called. This Propoſal appeared to them ſo reaſonable, that they all readily agreed to it. By this means the Vicarage is conſiderably augmented, and the College Prayers are ſtill kept up for the Benefit of the Scholars, to whom chiefly they could be of Uſe ſince the Ruin of the College; the Maſter of the School having ever ſince diſcharged that Duty; and the Biſhop for his Encouragement gave him a Prebend juſt by the Town, with a Deſign that it might for ever be annexed to the School.

And whereas at *Caermarthen* they had only Morning Prayers upon Week Days when his Lordſhip firſt came to that Town, he ſet up alſo conſtant Evening Prayers; and towards this additional Labour he allowed the Curate the yearly Synodals of the Archdeaconry; to which Mr. Archdeacon *Teniſon*, who is very ready to contribute to all Works of Charity and Piety, being then upon the Place, added twenty Shillings a Year out of his Revenue there, and the Prayers are ſtill kept up and well frequented.

Some

Some time before his last Sickness, after he removed from *Brecknock* to *Abermarles*, he entertained Thoughts of addressing to all his Clergy by the way of a circular Letter, in order to recommend to their Consideration, and press upon their Practice, some very important Methods for promoting Virtue and Piety in his Diocese; and after his Death there was found among his Papers a Letter drawn up to that Purpose. It is certain that it had not his last Hand, and wants that Perfection which usually attended whatever he composed; but however, because the Matter of it is Unexceptionable, and the Design of it hath a great Tendency to advance the Interest of Religion; and because it sheweth at the same time how the Thoughts of the good Bishop were to the last fixed upon the Service of his great Master in forwarding the Good of Souls, I shall insert it in this Place, begging Indulgence from the Reader for any Defects that may appear in a Plan which was not finished by his Lordship.

LXXVII. *He designed to have sent a circular Letter to all his Clergy, a rough Draught whereof was drawn up.*

To

To the Reverend the Archdeacons and the reſt of the Clergy of the Dioceſe of St. *David*'s.

My Brethren,

The Deſign of this Letter.

BEING deſirous, according to my Duty, to promote the Salvation of thoſe Souls which the Providence of God hath, in a particular manner, committed to my Care; and being ſenſible that this great Work can be no otherwiſe effected, than by advancing the Intereſt and Power of Religion in the Hearts and Lives of Men: Give me leave to ſuggeſt to you, my Brethren, my Fellow-Labourers in the Lord, ſome few Methods, which I conceive may be of admirable Uſe to this Purpoſe; which, if we are ſo happy as to accompliſh, will greatly tend to the Increaſe of Piety and Virtue in my Dioceſe, and enable us all to give up our Accounts at the laſt great Day, when we ſhall appear before the Tribunal of Chriſt, with Joy, and not with Grief.

The Firſt Thing recommended; The eſtabliſhing Family Devotion.

The Firſt *Thing therefore that I would recommend to you, and which I do earneſtly exhort you to, is* to apply yourſelves with great Diligence, to eſtabliſh the Practice of Family Devotion, in all the Families of your reſpective Pariſhes. *I need not prove to you what is ſo very manifeſt, that nothing helpeth more to keep up a Senſe of Religion in the Minds of Men, than a ſerious, reverent and conſtant Perfor-*

Performance of this neceſſary Duty; whereby both the Glory of God is much advanced, and many Bleſſings do alſo accrew to thoſe who in this manner daily adore and praiſe their great Creator, the Lover of Souls. But in order to this Purpoſe, I muſt with ſome Warmth beſeech you to make a particular Application to every Houſe-Keeper in your ſeveral Pariſhes, and to endeavour to convince them, if need be, how much it is their Intereſt as well as Duty to worſhip God daily in their Families; ſince it is not only the propereſt Expreſſion of their own Piety, but the likelieſt Method to make their Children and Servants obedient and faithful: And I would farther adviſe you to ſecond your Exhortations of this kind with recommending to them ſome ſmall Books, which explain and preſs this Duty, and lay down Forms for the Performance of it. I am aſſured that there are ſeveral * Books of this kind to be purchaſed at very

* *Books of this kind are*, viz.

The Neceſſary Duty of Family-Prayer, *Price* 1 *d. or* 6 *s. per hundred.*

Exhortation to Houſe-Keepers to ſet up the Worſhip of God in their Families, with daily Prayers for Morning and Evening, *Price* 1 *d. or* 6 *s. per hundred.*

The Neceſſity of Family-Prayer, and the deplorable Condition of prayerleſs Families conſidered, with Prayers for their Uſe, *Price* 1 *d. or* 6 *s. per hundred.*

All three printed by J. Downing *in* Bartholomew Cloſe.

Family-Devotion; or, an Exhortation to Morning and Evening-Prayer, with two Forms ſuited thereunto, as alſo for private Uſe. *By* E. Gibſon, *D. D.*

Printed for R. Whitledge, *Price* 3 *d. or* 20 *s. per hundred.*

Family-Religion; or, the Exerciſe of Prayer and Devotion in private Families.

Printed by B. Aylmer, *Price* 2 *d. or* 10 *s. per hundred.*

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eaſy Rates; and I could wiſh, that your own Abilities, or the Aſſiſtance of ſome charitable and well diſpoſed Neighbour, might lodge theſe gratis in the Families of the poorer ſort; though if you procure a ſufficient Number of ſuch Books, it is not to be doubted, but that when your Pariſhioners think them neceſſary, they will readily pay for the ſame, the Price being ſo very inconſiderable.

These your Exhortations, and procuring Books to that Purpoſe being backed with your frequent and repeated Admonitions, will, I hope, by the Aſſiſtance of divine Grace, bring all your Pariſhioners to the conſtant and ſerious Practice of Family Prayer; eſpecially if you repreſent to them at the ſame time the great Importance of exerciſing this Duty, not only as it relates to the propagating of true Piety and Religion in the preſent Age, but alſo as it tends to the ſecuring of them in all future Ages. For the Example of Parents and Maſters, will, in all Probability, make ſuch deep Impreſſions upon the Minds of their Children and Servants, as to excite them to an Imitation of their Practice, whenever they ſhall become themſelves Maſters of Families; And ſo then this Duty will not only be obſerved in their Families at preſent; but probably alſo in all thoſe Families that ſhall deſcend and iſſue from them for ever.

And to make this Exerciſe of Family Devotion ſtill more uſeful, you muſt farther exhort them, when they have leiſure, as they often have

have on Winter-Evenings, eſpecially on Sundays, to introduce their Family-Prayers with reading ſome Portions of Holy Scripture, and of other pious and religious Books proper to inſtruct and perſuade them to the diligent Diſcharge of all Chriſtian Virtues.

And ſince it is Matter of great Grief and Sorrow to all thoſe who unfeignedly Labour in the Goſpel, and are intruſted with the Care of precious and immortal Souls, to obſerve in their ſeveral Pariſhes the habitual neglect of this Duty, upon the conſtant uſe whereof, the ſpiritual Welfare of their Pariſhioners doth ſo much depend; I cannot forbear ſolemnly charging you to exert your ſelves with more than ordinary Zeal in this Matter; that ſo this Affair of ſuch great Conſequence to the Good of Souls, may in your ſeveral Pariſhes be brought to its wiſhed for and deſired Perfection.

The Second Thing that I ſhall recommend and earneſtly exhort you to, as of ſingular Uſe towards promoting Religion in a wicked and degenerate Age, is to endeavour the erecting Charity-Schools in your ſeveral Pariſhes; wherein the Children of the Poor may be taught to read and write, and to repeat our excellent Church-Catechiſm, and to underſtand the Principles of our Holy Religion, which are ſo neceſſary to their Eternal Salvation; and whereby they may be fitted to receive farther Inſtructions from thoſe Diſcourſes you ſhall from time to time make to them from the Pulpit. It is not to be doubted but

The ſecond thing recommended, is erecting Charity-Schools.

but that a great part of that Prophaneneſs and Debauchery which prevails among the poorer ſort, is very much owing to that groſs Ignorance of Religion, which abounds among them: Now what Remedy ſo proper to prevent this fatal Miſchief, as the Chriſtian Education of poor Children under ſtrict Diſcipline? And this ought the rather to be attempted, becauſe I am informed many poor People in this Dioceſe, are very deſirous that their Children ſhould receive the Benefit of ſuch an Education, though they are not able to be at the Charge of procuring it for them.

This I do the more heartily recommend to you, becauſe it hath already been bleſſed by the gracious Providence of God, with great ſucceſs in many other Parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially in and about the Cities of London *and* Weſtminſter; *where there are not only great Numbers of Children inſtructed* gratis, *in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, but are alſo placed out to ſeveral different Occupations, and by degrees made uſeful Members of the Commonwealth. And indeed, I hardly know any Charity that is attended with greater Advantages to the Souls and Bodies of poor Creatures, than this which I now recommend to you.*

In order to this purpoſe, I beſeech you to apply yourſelves to ſuch of your Pariſhioners as are willing to contribute towards the carrying on this very good Work, and who are able by their Subſcriptions to anſwer the neceſſary Expence

which

which attends it. Lead them by your own Example, and upon this Occaſion do not fail to throw your Mite into the Treaſury. Neither you nor they, I am ſatisfied, will ever be able to employ your Alms better, nor direct your Charity to nobler Purpoſes. As to the Methods of erecting and governing theſe Charity Schools, they are laid down with ſo much Judgment and Exactneſs in the Account of Charity Schools, that is annually printed at London, and diſtributed all over the Kingdom, that I ſhall ſuggeſt nothing to you upon that Head, but deſire you to conſult that Account, and ſeriouſly to peruſe it for your further Direction.

And ſince I am upon the Subject of inſtructing Children, I deſire you to ſignifie to all School-Maſters within your ſeveral Pariſhes, that they take care to uſe Prayers in their Schools, Morning and Evening; and that they not only inſtruct their Scholars in the Church Catechiſm, but alſo teach them ſhort Prayers for their private Uſe, obliging them never to omit repeating them Morning and Evening. And I deſire you to inquire frequently, how the School-Maſters of your ſeveral Pariſhes, diſcharge theſe above-mentioned Duties; it being of the greateſt Conſequence to the Welfare both of the Church and the State, that all Children ſhould be religiouſly and piouſly Educated. And therefore I require you from time to time, to ſignifie to me the Names of ſuch School-Maſters, as after your repeated Admonitions ſhall neglect their Duty, as to the aforeſaid Particulars,

lars, that their Licences may be revoked, and that they may be declared for the future, incapable of so great a Trust.

The third thing recommended, is a Library of Books of practical Divinity for Youth.

A Third *Thing that I shall recommend to you, as very useful towards propagating Christian Knowledge, is* to endeavour to dispose all Parents that are of Ability in your several Parishes, to supply each of their Children, before they marry, or are otherwise settled in the World, with a small * Library, containing Books of practical Divinity, to the Value of three, four, or five Pounds, fixed in a little Press, with Shelves proper for that purpose. *This will make any Portion, that Parents are able to bestow upon their Children, a true Blessing; and indeed is a very valuable Present, since it tends so directly to provide for the Welfare of their immortal Souls. And to render this most effectual, they ought to enjoin their Children, at the same time they make them this Present of Books, to read them often and seriously, and to keep them with care and safety during their Lives, and then to leave them in the same good Condition to their Posterity; by which means the Knowledge of Religion, may be propagated from Age to Age in all future Generations.*

* *There has been since printed a Sheet of Paper, called,* The young Christian's Library; *or a Collection of good and useful Books, proper to be given to young Persons by their Parents, in order to their Christian Education and Improvement,* &c. *Printed and sold by* J. Downing *in* Bartholomew-Close, *near* West-Smithfield.

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The Fourth *Thing I ſhall recommend to you* is, to give notice to all your Pariſhioners, that the Common-prayer Book in *Welch* is lately printed in a ſmall Volume, and ſold by Mr. *Whitledge*, Bookſeller, in *Ave-Mary-Lane* at *London*, and by Mr. *Thomas Jones* at *Shrewſbury*; ſo that all your Pariſhioners may ſupply themſelves therewith. *Theſe Common-prayer Books are much wanted by the People of my Dioceſe, and I am informed, that they will be univerſally purchaſed, eſpecially ſince they will be ſold for about Eighteen-pence apiece. And to facilitate this matter, and make it eaſy to your Pariſhioners, I would adviſe you to collect Money of them, in order to buy ſuch Quantities as may ſupply their Occaſions; that by this means they may quickly and eaſily be diſperſt through the whole Dioceſe.*

The fourth thing recommended, the *Welch* Common Prayer Book.

I need not ſuggeſt to you the Advantages that will ariſe from your Succeſs in this matter, they appear at firſt ſight, and a little Conſideration will make them familiar to you. And that the Poor may be brought to give their Attendance in the Houſe of God, I conceive it may be very proper for you, to perſuade the Gentlemen, and other Perſons of Ability within your ſeveral Pariſhes, who uſually on Sundays relieve the Poor at their own Doors, to confine that Charity to ſuch as have that Day been at Church; and if it may be convenient, even to give their Alms at the Church Doors. This Method will in all proba-

bility excite the Poor to diligence, in attending the publick Worſhip of God.

The fifth thing recommended, to procure the Laws to be put in Execution againſt Vice and Immorality.

The Fifth *Thing that I ſhall recommend to you, and to which I do moſt earneſtly exhort you, is,* that you would endeavour to uſe your Intereſt with the Juſtices of the Peace in the other Counties of my Dioceſe, to follow the Example of thoſe of *Carmarthen. Where ſeveral worthy Juſtices of the Peace have exerted themſelves with great vigour, to ſuppreſs Vice and Immorality, as appears by the under-written Paper, which they ſubſcribed in open Quarter Seſſions, and which afterwards was diſperſt into every Pariſh of the ſaid County; and which as I am informed, hath had a wonderful Influence upon the Lives and Manners of the People.*

The making of the beſt Laws is but of ſmall importance, if no care is taken to put them in Execution; they ſhew indeed the Wiſdom of thoſe that have contrived and enacted them; but they will leave us where they found us, except Magiſtrates put on Vigour and Reſolution, to render them effectual to the Purpoſes for which they were deſigned. This Duty was urged upon all the Magiſtrates of the Kingdom, by her Majeſty herſelf, upon her happy Acceſſion to the Throne, as one of her firſt Cares for the Welfare of her People; and indeed, it tendeth ſo apparently to the Honour of God, as well as to the Good of all her Majeſty's Subjects, that it is no wonder that it ſhould be ſo particularly the Concern

cern of a Princeſs, who is diſtinguiſhed by her Zeal for both.

You may farther ſtrengthen the Example of the Juſtices of the Peace of Carmarthen, with the Practice of ſeveral worthy Societies in this Kingdom, who (to their true Honour be it ſpoken) zealouſly labour in this good Work of Reformation of Manners. I do, therefore, moſt heartily recommend them both to their Imitation, and exhort you to ſolicite their Compliance, with this my Recommendation, in regard ſuch extraordinary Succeſs hath attended the Proceedings of the Gentlemen in the County of Carmarthen; and that by the Endeavours of the Societies, many thouſands of lewd and diſorderly Perſons have been brought to legal Puuiſhment.

There is one Inſtance more of the good diſpoſitions of the Juſtices of the Peace of Carmarthenſhire, which I deſire you to lay before the Juſtices of the Peace of the other Counties of my Dioceſe; and which I require you to exhort them to imitate; viz. The Method they take of providing for the ſpiritual Wants of poor Priſoners in their County Gaol, by allowing a Salary of five Pounds per Ann. to a Clergy-man, to read to them divine Service every Lord's Day, and frequently to adminiſter to them, the comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

I ſhall conclude this long Letter, with praying to God, from whom cometh every good and perfect Gift, that he would enable you by his Grace,

to perform what I have recommended to you, attending very much to the Honour and Service of our great Master; and that he would be pleased to bless your sincere Endeavours with Success: And at the same time, I do assure you that I am,

My dear Brethen,

Your most Affectionate Brother,

and Humble Servant,

George St. *Davids.*

The Paper mentioned to be under-written.

WHereas the Queen has issued forth her several Proclamations, for suppressing Vice and Immorality; wherein she strictly enjoins all Magistrates, to put the Laws impartially in Execution against all Persons that are guilty of profane Cursing and Swearing, Prophanation of the Lord's Day, or any other Vice and Immorality. And whereas there has been a general Defect in putting the Laws in Execution against such Offenders, both in England *and* Wales, *until lately the Magistrates, in pursuance of the said several Proclamations in* England, *have exerted themselves vigorously and impartially on these Occasions,*

sions, and have given Countenance and Encouragement to those Persons, that gave Informations of the Commission of the said Crimes; Therefore we, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, being Magistrates in the County of Caermarthen, do look upon ourselves to be under an indispensable Duty to follow their good Example; and we do hereby unanimously declare, that we will impartially put the Laws in Execution against all such Persons, that shall Curse and Swear, and prophane the Lord's Day, or commit any other Vice or Immorality. And also we declare, that we will give all due Countenance and Encouragement to all such Persons, that shall give us Information of these Crimes, being sensible, that they do the greatest Acts of Charity to the guilty Persons, in endeavouring their Reformation. And we do hereby farther declare and promise voluntarily, in order to silence an Objection usually made, that Magistrates are guilty, and do not pay; that we will pay any Forfeiture we shall incur by the Commission of the said Crimes, being convinced, that the Poor have a right to it by Law, and whosoever detains it, will do an Act of Injustice; therefore no Person must expect Favour or Connivance, since we are so impartial to ourselves. And we do hereby earnestly request the Reverend the Clergy of the several Parishes of this County, to cause this to be written in a fair Hand on Parchment, and afterwards that they cause the Church-Wardens of their several Parishes to fix it on a Board,

and frame it in; that it may be kept ſafe, and hung out at the Church Door duly every Year three times, viz. *at* Whitſontide, Eaſter *and* Chriſtmas, *by the Sextons of the ſeveral Pariſhes; and at all times, that the Act of Parliament againſt Curſing and Swearing, is read in the Churches, that all Perſons may be reminded often of theſe our Reſolutions, and to avoid the Commiſſion of the aforeſaid Crimes: Given under our Hands, at open Quarter Seſſions, the ſixth Day of* October, 1708.

Thomas Powell.
Griffith Lloyd.
William Brigſtock.
Thomas Lloyd.
Henry Vaughan.
John Vaughan.

LXXVIII. *The Biſhop reſided conſtantly in his Dioceſe.*

One great Means of maintaining the Purity of the Faith among the People, and Diſcipline among the Clergy in the primitive Times, was the conſtant Reſidence of the Biſhop in his Dioceſe; and the Abſence of Prelates from that Diſtrict committed to their particular Superintendence, hath been attended with fatal Conſequences to the Churches under their Government. The Deſcription which our Saviour maketh of the good Shepherd ſeemeth to require their Attendance, for how *ſhall he know his Sheep by their Name*, and how ſhall

he

he walk before them, if he doth not conſtantly reſide among them? And how ſhall any Irregularities among the Clergy be either prevented or rectified, when the Epiſcopal Authority is wanting to both Purpoſes? The Nature of the Biſhop's Office, before ſettled Revenues were affixed to Biſhopricks, required his conſtant Attendance; for he had a particular Authority in diſpoſing the Income of the Church, and it was his Care to ſee them managed to the beſt Advantage. The ancient * Councils have ſeveral Canons, which require that all the Incomes and Oblations ſhould be diſpenſed by the Will and Diſcretion of the Biſhop, to whoſe Care the People and the Souls of Men are committed. The Apoſtolical Canons mention the ſame Power, and though he had proper Aſſiſtants under him, yet they were only Stewards of his own appointing, and were accountable to him as the ſupreme Governor of his Church. And when the Empire became Chriſtian, and Churchmen became too ſecular, Councils took care to regulate this Matter. For the Council of *Sardica* hath ſeveral Canons which relate to it. The Seventh decreeth that no Biſhop ſhould go to the Emperor's Court, unleſs the Emperor by Letter called him thither: The very next Canon to that provides, that whereas there might be Caſes which might require a Biſhop to make

* *Mr.* Bingham's *Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church*, &c. Vol. 2. p. 384.

ſome Application to the Emperor in Behalf of the Poor or Widows, or of ſuch who fled for Sanctuary to the Church, and condemned Criminals, and the like. But in ſuch Caſes the Deacons and Sub-Deacons of the Church were to be employed to go in his Name, that the Biſhop might fall under no Cenſure at Court as neglecting the Buſineſs of his Church. *Juſtinian* hath a Law of the ſame Import, that no Biſhop ſhould appear at Court upon any Buſineſs of his Church, without the Command of his Prince. But if any Petition was preferred to the Emperor relating to any Civil Conteſt, the Biſhop ſhould depute his Apocriſarius or Reſident at Court to act for him, or ſend his OEconomous, or ſome other of his Clergy to ſolicite the Cauſe in his Name, that the Church might never receive Damage by his Abſence, nor be put to unneceſſary Expences. Another Canon of the ſame Council limits the Abſence of the Biſhop to three Weeks, unleſs it were upon ſome very weighty and urgent Occaſion. And another Canon alloweth no more time for a Biſhop who is poſſeſt of an Eſtate, to go and collect his Revenues; and that with this Condition, provided he celebrates divine Service every Lord's Day in the Country Church where his Eſtate lieth. In order to purſue his Duty according to the Directions of the great Shepherd of Souls, our worthy Biſhop choſe his Dioceſe for the only Place of his Reſidence; and by that means he made

made ſome Amends for that imperfect manner wherewith he performed the Adminiſtrations of his Holy Function; which did not proceed from Negligence, or any want of a right Intention to diſcharge them, but from his Weakneſs and Infirmities, and from that Load of Years under which he now laboured.

The Biſhop extremely ſurprized by a Simoniacal *Prieſt.*

It is a common Obſervation, that the beſt things by Corruption become the worſt; but I am ſure it holds good in no Caſe ſo ſurely as in thoſe that undertake the Prieſtly Office; who if they contradict their Ordination Vows in the conſtant Courſe of their Lives, if they are falſe to thoſe Engagements which they ſolemnly entered into before God and the Church, they become the greateſt and moſt deſperate Sinners; their Guilt is attended with the higheſt Aggravation, and with the leaſt Hopes of Repentance. An Inſtance of ſuch a deplorable Wretch Biſhop *Bull* once met with; for while he lived at *Brecknock*, there was a certain Clergyman applied to him for Preferment, and being conſcious of his want of thoſe Qualifications which the Biſhop required in thoſe he advanced to any conſiderable Station, he was reſolved to try another Method; for bad Men judging of others by themſelves, eaſily perſuade themſelves, that other Men are influenced by thoſe corrupt Principles which prevail in their own Minds; he had the Impudence to offer him a Purſe of Gold; the good Biſhop ſaw it and trembled, and was never

never known to expreſs a greater Concern than upon that occaſion; the Confuſion he was in upon ſuch an unexpected Provocation extremely diſordered him, and he immediately ſent away this abandoned Proſtitute with great Indignation.

LXXIX. The Biſhop by the Method of his Studies contracted ſeveral Indiſpoſitions of Body, ſuch as commonly attend all hard Students, eſpecially if they make Choice of the Night for that purpoſe. But though this was agreeable enough to his Genius, and very ſerviceable to the Ends he propoſed by it; yet he was at laſt convinced of its fatal Effects upon his whole Conſtitution, which he thereby found ſenſibly broken. All the time he continued in the Dioceſe of St. *David*'s, he was ſickly, never being well long together; Colds and other Diſtempers which take thence their Riſe, created him almoſt continually ſome Uneaſineſs in his Body, the entire Frame whereof he perceived to be mightily impaired; and particularly his Eye-ſight, the Decay of which he attributed to nothing elſe but his Studying ſo much at unſeaſonable Hours.

He impaired his Strength by intenſe and unſeaſonable Study.

In this uncertain State of Health, without any conſiderable Alteration, he continued till the 27th of *September*, 1709. That Morning he was ſeized with a moſt violent Fitt of Coughing, which by the Violence of the Fitt ended at laſt in ſpitting of Blood, which he loſt

An Account of his laſt Sickneſs.

loſt that way in conſiderable Quantities for ſome Hours. But this Spitting of Blood was by Degrees ſtopped for the preſent by his drinking two or three Glaſſes of cold Water. The next Day his Bleeding returned about the ſame Hour, but could not then be ſtopped without opening a Vein, at which he bled very freely, which ſucceeded as well as could be expected. The Loſs of ſo much Blood every way, together with the uſual Regimen preſcribed him in that Diſtemper, whereby he was reſtrained from all nouriſhing Meats, and all ſtrong Drinks, did ſo weaken him, that it quite broke that little Strength of Conſtitution which ſtill remained; that when his laſt Sickneſs ſeized him in *February* following, he had not Strength enough to bear up long under it. For his Diſtemper was ſuppoſed to have been an Ulcer, or what they call the Inward Piles, occaſioned by ſtagnated Blood in the Hæmorrhoid Veins, which under a violent Looſeneſs affected him with great and exquiſite Pain; ſo that the whole time of his Confinement did not exceed a Fortnight.

His Apprehenſion of the Approach of Death.

As ſoon as his Diſtemper obliged him to keep his Chamber, he perceived that his Diſſolution was near at hand; and accordingly declared, "That he was now ſenſible of his "own Decay, and that he was ſure he could "not live many Days." His Phyſicians ſeemed to incline to the ſame Opinion after ſome ſhort Attendance; though they expreſſed themſelves herein

herein with ſome Heſitation and Reſerve; which the good Biſhop perceiving, thus addreſſed himſelf to one of them; *Doctor, you need not be afraid to tell me freely what your Opinion of me is; for I thank my good God I am not afraid to dye: It is what I have expected long ago; and I hope I am not unprepared for it now.* Repentance and Mortification had been ſo much the happy Work of his ſtrongeſt and healthful Days, that when Death approached, he received the Summons not only with Reſignation, but with ſome Degree of Satisfaction. He had wiſely made ſuch a careful Preparation for his laſt Hours, that he was now able to bear the Thoughts and Approaches of his great Change without Amazement; he had overcome that ſtrong Inclination of Nature, whereby Men uſually cleave ſo faſt to Life, by the wiſer Dictates of Reaſon and Religion, which made him willing and contented to dye whenever God thought fit.

His immediate Preparation for Death.

This Senſe of his approaching Departure out of the World, made him careful not to omit any thing that could be now done, both for himſelf and Family, for the better ſecuring their common Intereſt and Salvation. During the time therefore of his Confinement, he would often have the Family to Prayers in his Chamber at the uſual Hour; and the Prayers for the Sick in the Office of the *Viſitation* were added upon thoſe Occaſions, and

ſome-

sometimes the Litany. The Prayers for the Sick were frequently repeated during the whole time of his Illness, at which he expressed always great Devotion. He would sometimes desire to receive Absolution in the Form used in the Communion Office, which he thought came nearer to the precatory Forms of Absolution mentioned in the Fathers than any other. But it doth not appear that he hereby condemned the Use of that Form, which is at least in some Cases prescribed by our excellent Church in her Office for the Visitation of the Sick, or that he had any Doubt concerning the Benefits of Sacerdotal Absolution, or of that Authority which is derived to the Ministers or Delegates of Christ of forgiving the Penitent their Sins *in his Name*; since in his last Acts of Preparation for Death he earnestly desired it, and solemnly received it. None can deny that this Form of Absolution by him chosen is certainly Primitive, and therefore unexceptionable, whether the other be so or no, hath been disputed by the Learned; and He had a Right to chuse that against which no Exception could lie. This evidently was the Case of this excellent Prelate; and upon this account I suppose he desired no other Form of Absolution than this, which was undoubtedly most ancient, a few Days before his Death; when in the Presence of several Persons he made a solemn Confession and Decla-

Declaration of the Conduct of his whole Life; and ſo took his leave of the World in a manner the moſt edifying that could be. Mr. *Bull* his Son, Mr. Archdeacon *Stephens* his Son-in-Law, and Mr. *Philips* a Clergyman of that Neighbourhood, beſides his own Chaplain Mr. *Havard*, were of the Number of thoſe that were preſent, who were edified not a little with what they heard from his Mouth; And have all atteſted, that as he bore his laſt Sufferings with a reſigned Temper and Firmneſs of Mind, which nothing but the Grace of God, and the Conſciouſneſs of a well ſpent Life could inſpire, ſo that they never knew a warmer Example to influence all within the reach of it, to a juſt Senſe of their own Duty.

The Confeſſion *of his* Faith, *and general Review of his Life.*

Firſt the Biſhop made a publick Confeſſion of his *Faith* in the Words of the Apoſtles Creed. Then he gave a ſhort Account of his Life, running over the ſeveral Stages of it, making uſeful Remarks upon the principal Paſſages which occurred in each Stage; recounting the ſeveral Errors and Miſcarriages which attended them, as far as he could recollect them by his Memory at that time. From the former he took occaſion to admire the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of Divine Providence in the Diſpoſal of all the Events of Things and Conditions of Men in the World: And to bleſs God for all his Diſpenſations towards himſelf

in

in particular, whether of good or evil Things, in the whole Courſe of his Life.

The latter gave him occaſion to renew his Sorrow and Repentance for them, and for all the other Offences in his Life paſt, which he might have forgotten, or could not at preſent recollect; for all which he expreſſed his earneſt deſire of Mercy and Forgiveneſs in ſome ſhort but fervent Prayers and Ejaculations. And becauſe what he now did was perfectly conformable to that *publick Profeſſion* which he had formerly made when he was in health, and with the Proſpect of ſuch an Hour as this; the Reader perhaps will not be ſorry to have here a Copy of it, which is as followeth. "* I moſt firmly believe, "*ſaid he*, that as I yield a ſtedfaſt Aſſent to "the Goſpel of Chriſt, and as I work out true "Repentance by that Faith, ſhaking off by "the Grace of God the Yoke of every deadly "Sin, and in earneſt devoting myſelf to the "Obſervation of his Evangelical Law; I "ſhall obtain by the Sovereign Mercy of God "the Father, for the Merits only of Jeſus "Chriſt his Son, and my Lord and Saviour, "who offered up himſelf unto the Father a "truly expiatory Sacrifice for my Sins, and "for the Sins of the whole World, the full "Remiſſion of all my paſt Sins be they never

His Repentance and Ground of Hope for the Remiſſion of Sins.

* Apolog. pro Harmonia, *p.* 12 *fol.*

"ſo

" ſo many and great. But then I have no o-
" therwiſe any Confidence of my Sins being
" forgiven me; or of my being in a State of
" Grace and Salvation, but as by a ſerious Ex-
" amination of my Conſcience, made accord-
" ing to the Rule of the Goſpel, there ſhall be
" Evidence of the Sincerity of my Faith and
" Repentance. And I believe moreover, that
" while I bring forth Fruits worthy of Faith
" and Repentance, and while I not only ab-
" ſtain from thoſe Crimes, which according
" to the Goſpel exclude a Man from Heaven,
" but do diligently likewiſe exerciſe myſelf
" in Good-Works, both thoſe of Piety to-
" wards God, and thoſe of Charity towards
" my Neighbour; ſo long I may preſerve the
" Grace that is given me, of Remiſſion and
" Juſtification: And that if I *die in this State*,
" I am in the way of obtaining by it the Mer-
" cy of God, and eternal Life and Salvation
" for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. I believe yet
" that I may fall away; and after having re-
" ceived the Holy Ghoſt, may, as our Church
" ſpeaketh, depart from Grace: And that
" therefore I ought to work out my Salvation
" *with fear and trembling*. I believe alſo, that
" in the Goſpel there is Pardon promiſed to
" all that fall, let it be never ſo often, ſo that
" they do, before their Death, *renew* their
" Repentance, and do again their firſt Works;
" but then there is not any where promiſed
" to them, either ſpace of Life, or Grace that

they

" they may repent. I believe there is given " to ſome Perſons, a certain *extraordinary* " Grace, according to the good Pleaſure of " God; but I account it the greateſt mad- " neſs, for any one therefore to preſume upon " ſuch a Grace, or to challenge ought for him- " ſelf, beyond the Promiſes of God which are " made in the Goſpel. And laſtly, it is my " firm Belief, that throughout the whole " Courſe of my Salvation, from the very firſt " Setting out, to the End thereof, the Grace " and Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit is abſolutely " neceſſary: and that I never have done, and " never can do any ſpiritual Good without " Chriſt, is my full and certain Perſuaſion.

This is the Confeſſion of his Faith, which he had made about four and thirty Years before to all the World, and to which he now adhered at his Death; even as to thoſe very Articles, wherein he ſtood moſt of all ſuſpected for ſome time, and for the Explication of which in his Books, he was loudly but injudiciouſly cenſured by a great many, as hath been before obſerved, for approaching too near *Pelagianiſm* and *Socinianiſm*. For becauſe he was not for making the Grace of God a Cloak for Man's Idleneſs; and was of the Opinion, that none ought to expect it, but they that *pray* for it, and none could reap the fruit of it, but they who added *watching* to it; this was miſconſtrued, as a detracting from Grace, and a depretiating of the moſt precious Blood of Chriſt,

notwithſtanding all his Remonſtrances to the contrary. In purſuance, therefore, of thoſe Principles he had ſo well defended in his Health, and in conformity with the Churches Directions, this Cloſe of his Life, and laſt moſt ſolemn Act of it, deſigned to recapitulate the whole, was exactly by him adjuſted: While to his Faith he added thus Repentance, and to Repentance, Charity, as the Life and Soul of them both; and caſting himſelf, after having done all, upon the infinite Mercies of God, and the ineſtimable Merits of Chriſt, with the deepeſt Senſe of his own Unworthineſs, thereby expreſſed the true and only way of *Juſtification* which he had choſen. Of which he had long before ſaid,* *This is the way of Salvation, which by God's Grace I have entred into, or at leaſt have deſired to enter into, which I have therefore choſen, becauſe it is clearly ſet forth to me in the Holy Scriptures, and is a trodden and a ſafe way, which all Catholick Chriſtians, for fifteen hundred Years at leaſt from our Saviour's Birth, have trodden before me:* And which was now ratified by this his laſt authentick Act and Deed, made before many Witneſſes. For having now ſolemnly profeſſed his Faith, that he might teſtify to them his earneſt Deſire of dying in the Communion of the Apoſtles; and adored the moſt wiſe and gracious Providence of God towards him, upon a faithful Review of the Good and Evil

* Apol. pro Har. p. 13.

of

of his Life paſt, from his firſt Setting out, to the laſt Period of it; he gave Glory to God in the profound Humiliation of his Soul, and by ſuitable Acts of Contrition, adapted to the ſeveral Parts of his Life, magnified the Grace of his Redeemer, calling upon him by Faith with great Fervency, for inward Purification and perfect Remiſſion of his Sins. Which devout Acts and Aſpirations, expreſſing the Sincerity of his Faith and Repentance, he ſignified in the Style of all the Saints, and concluded in the very Words of the Prophet *David*, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanſe thou me from my ſecret Faults.*

After this, the good Biſhop expreſſed his *Charity* in all the Branches of it, as far as he was then able to do it; namely, In an hearty Deſire of *Forgiveneſs*, from all thoſe whom he had offended or miſuſed, and in a chearful readineſs to *forgive* thoſe who had done him any Hurt or Injury. As to the other Branch of Charity, that of *Giving*, he had done it in ſo generous and plentiful a manner all his Lifetime, that he did not expreſs any great Concern, that the Circumſtances of his Family were now ſuch, as would not admit of any Act of Charity of this kind: this he concluded likewiſe with ſuitable Prayers and Interceſſions. *His Charity, and Forgiveneſs of Enemies.*

In the laſt place he profeſſed, that as he had always lived, ſo he was now reſolved to die, in the Communion of the Church of *England*; and declared, that he believed that it was the *His Profeſſion concerning the Church of* England.

beſt conſtituted Church this Day in the World; for that its Doctrine, Government, and way of Worſhip, were, in the main, the ſame with thoſe of the primitive Church. Here he put up ſome Prayers for its Peace and Proſperity; and declaring again, that he was reſolved to die in its Communion, he deſired *Abſolution*, and received it as before-mentioned.

LXXX. *The manner of his taking his ſolemn Leave.*

The Evening before he departed, his Son-in-Law, Mr. Archdeacon *Stephens*, arrived from a great Journey, upon the News he received of his dangerous Illneſs. The good Biſhop embraced him with great ſatisfaction, when he raiſed himſelf up in his Bed to give him his Bleſſing. When Mr. *Stephens* expreſſed his great Sorrow and Concern, to find him in ſo great Miſery by the Complaints he made, he told him, "he had endured a great deal, "that he did not think he had ſo much "Strength of Nature, but that now it was near "being ſpent, and that in God's good time he "ſhould be delivered. And when Mr. *Stephens*, in order to ſupport him, urged that his Reward would be great in Heaven, the good Biſhop replied, "My Truſt is in God, through the "Merits of Chriſt. And being prevented from enlarging by the exquiſiteneſs of his Pains, he deſired Mr. *Stephens* to retire, and refreſh himſelf after his Journey. Some little time after this, he told thoſe that were about him, that he perceived he had ſome Symptoms

toms of the near Approach of Death; and ordered them to call the Doctor to him. And when he came, he told him he thought he felt himself a dying; to which the Doctor answered, that he could not say he would live many Hours. Upon this, he sent for his Wife and Children, and the rest of his Family, and desired them to pray with him, and for him. And when Prayers were over, he took his solemn Leave of every one in particular; giving each of them some serious Exhortation and Advice. And this being done, he gave them his Benediction, and dismissed them.

His Care and Affection for those that waited upon him.

He was moreover very careful, that none might do themselves an Injury by their zealous Attendance upon him, while they were not capable of doing him any farther Good. Wherefore he charged his Wife, as he did also his Son-in-Law, Mr. *Stephens*, to retire to their Rest: And when the Doctor offer'd to continue with him in his last Hours, after their Dismission, he told him, "He would not have "him impair his Health by sitting up with "him; since he could not be farther service-"able to him any other way, than by praying "for him, and that he might do in his Cham-"ber. Nevertheless, he desired his Son and Daughter, and Mr. *Havard* his Chaplain, with some others of the Family, who were not in such danger of being hurt by it, to stay with him till he died; that they might assist him with their Prayers, especially in his last Ago-

nies, when he ſhould not be able to pray for himſelf. He thought now, and ſo indeed did all about him, that he could not laſt above an hour or two longer; and that, by the great Weakneſs he was reduced to when his laſt Sickneſs left him, and the Pain he had endured ſince the beginning of his preſent Diſtemper, the whole Fabrick, in a Perſon of his Age, was now ſo ſhattered, that the Separation of the Soul from the Body, could not be tedious or uneaſy. But, contrary to all Expectation, he held it out many Hours under his laſt Agonies.

What was obſerved of him in the Agony of Death.

He had his Underſtanding and Memory to the laſt, and that in as great Strength and Vigour as ever he had them in the Remembrance of thoſe that perfectly knew him. As an Inſtance of which, the Reader may take this remarkable Paſſage. The Night but one before he died, he ſent for his Son Mr. *Robert Bull*, and after having given him his Leave and Order to publiſh his Sermons, which are now printed, he commanded him to ſtrike out the Preface of his Viſitation Sermon, which he ſaid was too Juvenile, and to make two or three Alterations in another of his Sermons, which Alterations were taken from his Mouth, and ſince performed. But what was ſurprizing in this Matter, was, that he had delivered theſe Sermons to his Son, at leaſt ſix Years before, and they were never ſo much as ſeen by his Lordſhip afterwards. During the time of his

laſt

last Conflict, he scarce troubled himself, or those that waited upon him, with taking any thing. But he pass'd it all entirely in Acts of Piety and Devotion. Sometimes he joined with those that were present in the Prayers of the Office of the Visitation of the Sick; the latter part whereof was, by his Direction, frequently repeated in this Interval; but the greatest part of it he spent in pious Meditations and private Ejaculations; upon what Subjects can be no farther guessed at, than by observing his Eyes and Hands frequently lifted up towards Heaven, and sometimes Tears and Smiles, interchangeably succeeding each other in his Countenance, one might think, that as the former were the Attendants of his Repentance and Confessions, so the latter were the Result of that Joy and Comfort which he felt in his Mind, from the Sense of the Pardon of his Sins, and of the Peace and Favour of a reconciled God; which might also receive no small Addition at this Juncture, from the near Prospect he had of his Deliverance from this mortal and painful Life, and of his Entrance into a State of everlasting Happiness.

His repeated Farewel and dying Exhortations to his Family.

When he found that he continued thus to live, several Hours longer than he expected, he sent again for his Wife and Children to his Bed-side, to take his Leave once more of them, and of the rest of the Family that were up; and they say, he was even fuller now in his Exhortations to them than before, and they were

mighty well ſuited, and particularly applied, to the Circumſtances and Conditions of the ſeveral Perſons to whom they were given. He recommended his Wife and Children to the divine Providence and Protection, but in ſo moving and affectionate a manner, as is difficult to expreſs. And he thanked all his Servants for the Pains they had taken with him in his Sickneſs. And as for the reſt, his Exhortations ran chiefly upon general Heads, ſuch as the great Importance of Religion, the Vanity of the World, the deceitful Nature of Riches and Honours, and what miſerable Comforters they would prove at laſt. The Inefficacy, or at leaſt the great Hazard and uncomfortable State of a Death-bed Repentance, and the abſolute Neceſſity of a holy Life, in order to a happy Death; a Life ſpent in the Service of God, in doing Good in the World, eſpecially Works of Mercy and Charity. Theſe are the Subjects which he endeavoured to impreſs upon the Minds of thoſe he left behind him; and then once more he gave them his ſolemn Benediction. After this, he recommended his Soul into the Hands of his Creator, in ſeveral ſhort but moſt excellent Prayers, repeated moſt part of the ſeventy firſt Pſalm, ſo far as it ſuited his Circumſtances, than which nothing could be more proper, to expreſs his Truſt and Dependence upon the Power and Goodneſs of God, and the continual Want he had of his Grace and Aſſiſtance; moreover, he ordered his Chaplain to

uſe

uſe the Commendatory Prayer, when he perceived him to be at the Point of Expiring, which was accordingly done ſeveral times.

About nine in the Morning his Spirits began to ſink, and his Speech to falter, and a few Minutes after, without any viſible Sign of Pain or Difficulty, with two gentle Sighs he reſigned his Soul to God, the 17th of *February*, $17\frac{0}{10}\frac{2}{0}$. The laſt Word he ſpoke was *Amen*, to the Commendatory Prayer, which he repeated twice diſtinctly and audibly after his uſual Manner, a very little while before he died. *His Death.*

He was buried about a Week after his Death at *Brecknock*, and lies, as I am informed, between two of his Predeceſſors, Biſhop *Manwaring* and Biſhop *Lucy*, and his Funeral was attended with great Numbers of the Gentry and Clergy, both of the County of *Caermarthen* and *Brecknock*. He had given ſtrict Charge, that the Burthen of his Debts ſhould not be increaſed, by beſtowing more Expence upon his Interment, than what Neceſſity and Decency required. And upon this account it is thought, that when he was asked, where he would be buried, whether at *Caermarthen* or *Brecknock*, he returned this Anſwer, *where the Tree falleth there let it lie*; meaning, that they ſhould bury him in the Pariſh-Church of *Lhandovery*; and what ſtill further inclined him to this Determination, was the extraordinary Value *He was buried at* Brecknock.

and

and Reſpect, which the Biſhop expreſſed to the Memory of Mr. *Rees Prichard*, formerly Vicar of that Place, interred there, upon the account of his great and celebrated Piety, and the Uſefulneſs of his excellent Poems in the *Welſh* Tongue; which are in very great Repute among the Inhabitants of that Country, as well for the Plainneſs of the Language, and the Eaſineſs and Smoothneſs of the Meaſures, as for the Importance of the Subjects upon which he wrote. The whole Book being in a manner an entire Body of Practical Divinity, in which ſeveral of the Natives, even thoſe that are illiterate, are ſo well verſed, that they will very pertinently quote Authorities out of this Book for their Faith and Practice. But the Biſhop was prevailed upon, by the Deſire of his Wife, to conſent to be buried at *Brecknock*, it being the Place where ſhe deſigned to paſs her ſorrowful Widowhood, and conſequently, thereby ſhould have an Aſſurance of lying in the ſame Grave with him; and the matter was ſo ordered, that in making the Biſhop's Grave, ſhe gave Directions to have it done up with Walls every way, and ſo large as to contain two Corpſes. And it hath pleaſed God very lately, ſince I began the Life of her excellent Husband, to call her to Reſt, and ſhe now repoſes with this pious Prelate, in that ſilent Retirement ſhe had provided for herſelf, till the laſt Trump ſhall ſummon them both to Judgment;

ment; **And the Lord grant unto them, that they may find Mercy of the Lord in that Day.* His Grave is covered with a plain Stone, and the ſhort Inſcription upon it which follows, was framed, and ordered by his pious Widow, who was ſo ſatisfied with it her ſelf, that ſhe would not ſuffer it to be caſt into any other Form.

HERE LIETH THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, Dr. GEORGE BULL, *LATE BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESS; WHO WAS EXCELLENTLY LEARNED, PIOUS AND CHARITABLE; AND WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE* FEBRUARY *THE* 17th. 1709, *AGED* 75.

He left behind him, but two of thoſe eleven Children, with which God had been pleaſed to bleſs him. His Son *Robert*, at preſent Rector of *Tortworth*, in *Gloceſterſhire*, and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church in the ſame County, married *Rachel*, the Daughter of *Edward Stephens* of *Cherington* in the County of *Gloceſter* Eſq; and of *Mary*, the Daughter of Sir *Matthew Hale*, late Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*. And *Bridget*, ſince his Death, married to Mr. *Edward Adderly*, Son to the aforeſaid *Mary* by a former Husband.

* 2 Tim. 1. 18.

And

Bishop Bull's Character.

And now that we have attended this very learned and pious Prelate, from his Birth to the last Period of his Life, let us endeavour in a few Words, to recapitulate the dispersed Excellencies of his Life; and in running over his Character, strive to copy the Example of those eminent Vertues, which in this Pattern shine brightest for our Imitation.

As to his Stature, he was rather tall; and in his younger Years thin and pale, but fuller and more sanguine in the middle and latter part of his Age; his Sight quick and strong, and his Constitution firm and vigorous, till indefatigable Reading and Night Studies, to which he was very much addicted, had first impaired, and at length quite extinguished the one, and subjected the other to many Infirmities; for his Sight failed him entirely, and his Strength to a great Degree, some Years before he died: But whatever other bodily Indispositions he contracted by intense Thinking and a sedentary Life, his Head was always free, and remained unaffected to the last. He seemed framed by Nature for considerable Attainments, having all those Faculties and Dispositions of Mind, which are necessary thereunto, in as great Perfection as most Men ever enjoyed them. And that these rich Endowments were not bestowed upon him in vain, his learned Writings have demonstrated to all the World. In reading of Books, his Sagacity was such, as that nothing could escape his Observation;

vation; and as his Reading was great, ſo his Memory was equally retentive; he never kept any Book of References or Common-places, neither did he ever need any: Together with this happy Faculty, he was bleſſed with another that ſeldom accompanieth it in the ſame Perſon, and that was an accurate and ſound Judgment.

As to the Temperature and Complexion of his Body, that of Melancholy ſeemed to prevail, but never ſo far as to indiſpoſe his Mind for Study and Converſation; in the latter of which he would be always more chearful and pleaſant, the better the former ſucceeded to his Content. The Vivacity of his natural Temper expoſed him to ſharp and ſudden Fitts of Anger, which gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs, as well as thoſe Perſons who were concerned in the neareſt Offices about him; but thoſe Fitts were of ſuch ſhort continuance, that the trouble was ſoon over, and the goodneſs and tenderneſs of his Nature towards all his Domeſticks, at other times and upon all occaſions, made ſufficient amends to them for it; beſides his natural Paſſion was ſo far ſubdued by the Power of Religion, as that an evil Word was never heard to proceed from him, even when he ſeemed to be moſt tranſported with it. He had a Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Mind, which made him not eaſily moved, when he had once fixed his Purpoſes and Reſolutions, which is no bad Temper, when attended with ſuch a

true

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vation; and as his Reading was great, so his Memory was equally retentive; he never kept any Book of References or Common-places, neither did he ever need any: Together with this happy Faculty, he was blessed with another that seldom accompanieth it in the same Person, and that was an accurate and sound Judgment.

As to the Temperature and Complexion of his Body, that of Melancholy seemed to prevail, but never so far as to indispose his Mind for Study and Conversation; in the latter of which he would be always more chearful and pleasant, the better the former succeeded to his Content. The Vivacity of his natural Temper exposed him to sharp and sudden Fitts of Anger, which gave him no small Uneasiness, as well as those Persons who were concerned in the neareſt Offices about him; but those Fitts were of such short continuance, that the trouble was soon over, and the goodness and tenderness of his Nature towards all his Domesticks, at other times and upon all occasions, made sufficient amends to them for it; besides his natural Passion was so far subdued by the Power of Religion, as that an evil Word was never heard to proceed from him, even when he seemed to be most transported with it. He had a Firmness and Constancy of Mind, which made him not easily moved, when he had once fixed his Purposes and Resolutions, which is no bad Temper, when attended with such a true

true Judgment as he was Maſter of; but rather a Vertue of Nature, which many learned and good Men have been defective in. His natural Courage was a happy Diſpoſition, for that ſupernatural Grace of true Chriſtian Fortitude and Magnanimity, in which he was very eminent, ſo that the Frowns of great Men in Power could no more awe him, than popular Clamors could ſhake his Stedfaſtneſs.

He had early a true Senſe of Religion upon his Mind, and though he made a ſhort Excurſion into the Paths of Vanity, yet he was entirely recovered a conſiderable time before he entered into Holy Orders, and yet he was ordained Prieſt at one and twenty. He was a very hard Student for many Years, and though he was not unacquainted with moſt parts of Learning, yet he chiefly cultivated Divinity, to which he had ſolemnly dedicated his Studies. He ſo excelled in his Profeſſion, that he was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt Divines of the Age in which he lived, and that at a time when it abounded with great Men. He officiated with great Reverence and Devotion, in all the Duties of his holy Function. And when he inſtructed the People from the Pulpit, he enlightned their Underſtandings, and raiſed their Affections towards Heavenly Things. He had a great Love for Souls, and a tender Compaſſion for Sinners, which made him never deſpair of their Recovery, nor neglect ſuch endearing Applications as might bring them to Repentance.

Amidſt

Amidſt all thoſe extraordinary Talents with which God had bleſt him, it never appeared that he over-valued himſelf or deſpiſed others. For though his natural Endowments were of no ordinary ſize, and that they were wonderfully improved by Study and Application, yet his great Learning was tempered with that modeſt and humble Opinion of it, that it thereby ſhined with greater Luſtre. He abounded in Works of Charity, even beyond his Ability, and where-ever he met with Miſery and Want, they ſufficiently endeared the Object. The Glory of God and the Good of his Neighbour, were always uppermoſt in his Thoughts. His Actions were no leſs inſtructive than his Converſation, for his exact Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Writings of the primitive Fathers of the Church, had ſo effectual an Influence upon his Practice, that it was indeed a fair, and entire, and beautiful Image, of the Prudence and Probity, Simplicity and Benignity, Humility and Charity, Purity and Piety of the primitive Chriſtians. During his Sickneſs, his admirable Patience under exquiſite Pains, and his continual Prayers, made it evident, that his Mind was much fuller of God than of his Illneſs; and he entertained thoſe that attended him with ſuch beautiful and lively Deſcriptions of Religion and another World, as if he had a much clearer View than ordinary of what he believed.

In

In ſhort, *he lived the Life of the Righteous, and his latter End was like his.*

LXXXI. *An Account of Bp.* Bull's *Sermons and Diſcourſes.*

All that farther remaineth, is to lay before the Reader ſome Account of the Sermons and Diſcourſes of Biſhop *Bull*, which are now printed and publiſhed; in which I ſhall endeavour to be the ſhorter, becauſe their Worth will appear very obvious to thoſe who are the beſt Judges; and the Life is already run out to ſo great a length, that it is very neceſſary to draw to a Concluſion. As to the Sermons, his Son Mr. *Robert Bull*, as hath been already hinted, had not only the Biſhop's Leave, but his Order to print them after his Death; ſo that we may from thence conclude, they had his laſt Hand, and conſequently that Perfection which belonged to his Compoſures. The Subjects are reduced to no Dependence upon one another, in the Method of ranging them, neither was it neceſſary, ſince it did not appear that they were framed with any ſuch Proſpect. But the Reader will quickly perceive, that they anſwer the proper End and Deſign which ought to be kept in view in all ſuch Performances, which is to enlighten the Underſtanding with the Knowledge of ſome divine Truth, and to diſpoſe the Will to a vigorous and ſteddy purſuit of thoſe Things, which are neceſſary on our part, to attain everlaſting Salvation.

There

There are ſome Points handled in this Collection, which at firſt ſight, and from a ſuperficial View, may be thought to border too much upon Curioſity; but if the Reader brings that Attention and Seriouſneſs which ſuch Subjects require from us, he will find that they are primitive Truths, which have their proper Uſe and Advantage in the Conduct of the Chriſtian Life. *The firſt uſe of the Sermons, to inform us in ſome primitive Truths.*

As for inſtance; He hath not only aſſerted, but plainly proved from the holy Scriptures, and the concurrent Teſtimony of the Catholick Church in the pureſt Ages; "That the Souls "of Men ſubſiſt after Death, in certain places "of Abode provided for them till the Reſurrection of their Bodies; and that the ſaid "intermediate State allotted to them by God, "is either happy or miſerable, as they have "been good or bad in their paſt Lives. Now as this is matter of great Terror to all wicked Men, who ſhall immediately after Death be conſigned to a Place and State of irreverſible Miſery, in a dreadful Expectation of greater Puniſhments, at the Judgment of the great Day; ſo it affordeth abundance of Conſolation to thoſe who die in the Lord, and are entred upon their Reſt; not a ſtupid inſenſible Reſt, but a Reſt attended with a lively Perception of far greater Joy and Delight than this World is acquainted with; in a comfortable Hope of a large increaſe of Happineſs, at the ſecond coming of the Lord of Glory. But if there *The middle State of Happineſs and Miſery.*

was no other use to be made of this Doctrine, but to guard us from the Corruptions of Popery, I should think it established to very good Purpose. And certainly it appeareth very manifest, that if it was a part of the primitive Faith to believe, that the Souls of the best of Men subsisted after Death, in separate places of Rest and Refreshment, and did not enjoy the beatifick Vision till after the Resurrection of their Bodies; I say, it is evident from this Principle, that the Foundation for the Invocation of Saints is perfectly overthrown; for they are represented to us by our Adversaries, of the *Roman* Communion, as seeing all things in *Speculo Trinitatis*; and we are encouraged by them from that Motive, to offer up our Prayers, and to make our Addresses to the Saints; so that if they are not admitted as yet to read in the Glass of the Trinity, they have, according to this Principle, no way of knowing those Prayers which are made to them.

Again, if it be true that the Souls of the Righteous, being purified by the Blood of the Lamb, do after Death subsist in certain Mansions of Happiness till the Resurrection; then what Foundation can there be, for any such Fire of Purgatory, as is pretended for the Purgation of the Spirits of the Faithful by the Church of *Rome*? Or what Grounds can there be for that Furnace, which she hath heated as necessary to purifie almost all that go out of this Life, though with the Sign of Faith; e-

ven for a Purgatory, the Pains whereof are by many of her Divines repreſented to us, as equal to thoſe of Hell, their Duration only excepted? or for ſuch Prayers for departed Souls, as tend to ſupplicate their Deliverance from a Place of grievous Torment? thoſe of the ancient Church being only for ſuch who were at peace, and who reſt in Chriſt, but they who are expoſed to the Pains of Purgatory, cannot certainly be ſaid to enjoy thoſe Advantages.

The Doctrine of the Euchariſtical Sacrifice.

This learned Divine had, in his Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Queries, aſſerted the Doctrine of the *Euchariſtical Sacrifice*; That it was an Oblation of Bread and Wine inſtituted by *Jeſus Chriſt*, to repreſent and commemorate his Sacrifice upon the Croſs; and that its being Repreſentative and Commemorative, no more hindred it from being a proper Sacrifice, than the typical and figurative Sacrifices of the old Law, hindred them from being proper Sacrifices; for as to be a Type doth not deſtroy the Nature and Notion of a legal Sacrifice, ſo to be Repreſentative and Commemorative doth not deſtroy the Nature of an evangelical Sacrifice. He thought this Doctrine plain from Scripture, and from the unanimous and univerſal Tradition of the primitive Church; nay, that it was not only her Language, but her avowed and general Practice, to offer up the Bread and Wine to God the Father in the Euchariſt, as an Oblation appointed by our Saviour Chriſt,

to commemorate the Oblation of himſelf upon the Croſs, and as Repreſentative of that full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, for the Sins of the whole World.

Now in his Sermon concerning *the Antiquity and Uſefulneſs*, &c. *of Common Prayers*, he obſerveth the wonderful Conſent of all the Chriſtian Churches in the World, however diſtant from each other, in the Prayer of Oblation in the Chriſtian Sacrifice of the holy Euchariſt. He aſſureth us, all the ancient Liturgies agree in this Form of Prayer, almoſt in the ſame Words, but fully and exactly in the ſame Senſe, Order and Method. "Which, *ſaith* "*he*, whoever attentively conſidereth, muſt "be convinced, that this Order of Prayer was "delivered to the ſeveral Churches, in the very "firſt Plantation and Settlement of them. Nay "it is obſervable, that this Form of Prayer is "ſtill retained in the very Canon of the Maſs "at this Day uſed in the Church of *Rome*, "though the Form doth manifeſtly contra-"dict and overthrow ſome of the principal Ar-"ticles of their new Faith. For from this ve-"ry Form, ſtill extant in their Canon, a Man "may effectually refute thoſe two main Do-"ctrines of their Church, that of Purgatory, "and that of Tranſubſtantiation. The Antiquity of this Prayer of Oblation is a very good Argument, among many others, that the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Sacrifice was taught to the ſeveral Chriſtian Churches in their

their firſt Plantation, and conſequently was in that Scheme of Chriſtian Doctrines once delivered to the Saints. Now as this Notion of the Euchariſt is founded upon Scripture, and runneth through all the great Writers of the firſt three Ages; as it is highly Honourable to God, and no leſs Comfortable to all devout Chriſtians; ſo it hath this Advantage, that it ſecureth us a Bulwark againſt thoſe Innovations of the Church of *Rome*, which relate to this primitive Doctrine. The Popiſh Sacrifice of the Maſs, ſuppoſeth the Oblation of the ſame Body of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which ſuffered upon the Croſs, and conſequently, that it propitiateth by its own Vertue and Merit; whereas the primitive Doctrine, though it owns the Euchariſt for a proper Sacrifice, yet it is only Repreſentative and Commemorative of that Sacrifice upon the Croſs; and that it renders God Almighty propitious to us, only as it repreſents and communicateth the Benefits of the great Sacrifice; and that conſequently, as long as it is believed to be but Repreſentative, it is impoſſible it ſhould be the Thing itſelf.

If this Doctrine had been more univerſally received among thoſe who have reformed from the Church of *Rome*, there had not been ſuch a Stumbling-block laid in the way of thoſe, who have been inclined to embrace the Proteſtant Communion. And I can aſſure my Reader, from good Authority, which hath been already

quoted by conſiderable Authors, that a Perſon of great Quality in *France*, hath been kept back for no other Cauſe, from coming to the Church of *England*, but that he is told, SHE HATH NO SACRIFICE; to which his learned Correſpondent here, who is one of the *French* Miniſters, in anſwer aſſured him, that the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, freely teach the Doctrine of the Euchariſtical Sacrifice, as it was taught and practiſed in the pureſt Ages of the Catholick Church.

The Doctrine of Angels, *and the Uſes of it.*

Another Subject which our Author hath treated with great Accuracy and Judgment, is the Doctrine of Angels, a moſt noble part of the Creation; Millions of which glorious Creatures, are not only ſubject to the Majeſty of the divine Empire, but are alſo Inſtruments of his Providence in governing the World, as well as bright Examples ſet before us, to raiſe us to ſuch a zealous Service of God, as is performed in Heaven. Their Exiſtence is proved from Reaſon and Scripture, an account is given of their Creation, and of the Apoſtacy of many of them from the Inſtitutes of their great Creator. The Nature of the holy Angels, and their State and Condition in regard to God, is fully deſcribed, as well as their Office, in reference to good Men, being appointed by God as the Miniſters of his ſpecial Providence towards the Faithful; and farther is ſhewn, wherein the Angelical Miniſtry for the Good of the Faithful doth conſiſt; and how it is a-

buſed

buſed by thoſe who apply to them as Interceſſors and Advocates with God. The uſeful Thoughts which ariſe from the Conſideration of this Subject, are awful Apprehenſions of the Majeſty of God at all times, but more eſpecially in our ſolemn Approaches to him; Circumſpection and Caution in all our Behaviour, even in our moſt ſecret Retirement; great Humility and Reverence when we appear in his Preſence; a profound Senſe of God's great Goodneſs to the Sons of Men, and of the happy Eſtate of all the Faithful; and laſtly, Diligence and Zeal in ſerving the great God of Heaven and Earth.

The Title of Mother of God *aſſerted and vindicated.*

In his Sermon concerning the bleſſed Virgin, he aſſerts and vindicates her peculiar Title of THE MOTHER OF GOD; which was not invented by the Fathers of the third General Council at *Epheſus* convened againſt *Neſtorius*, but approved by them as what belonged to her, ſince it was the Language of Scripture, and the Style of the Apoſtolical Age. But he ſheweth the true Significancy of the Appellation, by proving that this Title doth not at all infer any Right the bleſſed Virgin hath to our religious Adoration; for the ancient Doctors of the Church when they conteſted with Hereticks concerning it, deſigned not by that ſo much to advance the Honour of the bleſſed Virgin, as to ſecure the real and inſeparable Union of the two Natures in Chriſt; and to ſhew that the human Na-

ture which Christ took of the Holy Virgin, never subsisted separately from the divine Person of the Son of God.

These Instances are sufficient to convince us, that these Sermons may serve as a Touch-stone to distinguish primitive Doctrines from modern Errors which have been built upon them; and that we ought not to sacrifice Truth to those Abuses to which it hath been exposed.

The Second Use *of the* Sermons, *is a* Model *for* young Preachers.

The Second Use which I humbly conceive may be made of the Sermons, is in Reference to the Candidates of Holy Orders, since if I mistake not, they are framed as a very proper Model both as to Style and Method for their treating any Subject of Divinity: And it is of no small Advantage to those who aim at any considerable Attainment, to propose to themselves some excellent Pattern for their Imitation. His Style is strong and manly, but yet plain and intelligible; he abhorred all Affectations of pompous Rhetorick, and yet expresseth himself with great Spirit and Life; his Words seem chiefly chosen to cloath his masterly Sense with Clearness and Propriety. The great Aim of his Sermons is to infuse into the Hearts of Christians right Apprehensions of the Doctrines of Christianity, and therefore he deduceth them from Scripture, and the purest Ages of the Church; and at the same time endeavours to make such an Impression upon their Minds, that they might pursue

purſue their Duty with ſome Warmth; which he doth with ſo much more Authority by how much it appeareth that he was affected himſelf with what he delivered to others. But I ſhall not enlarge upon this Subject farther than to recommend to the Reader the following Letter of Dr. *Lupton*, who hath handled this Matter with great Exactneſs. He preacheth at preſent one of the moſt celebrated Lectures in *London* with ſuch an univerſal Approbation, that thoſe who oppoſed his coming into that Poſt, declare themſelves in the firſt Rank of his Admirers. This learned, judicious, and pious Divine, was early formed under Biſhop *Bull*: The firſt Fruits of his Miniſtry in the Church was in the Station of his Curate, whereby he enjoyed all thoſe Advantages which he recommends with ſo good a Grace to all other Candidates of Divinity; and the World now perceiveth the admirable Uſe he made of ſuch an excellent Pattern, ſince he is thereby himſelf become a fit Model for the Preachers that are riſing in this Generation. Beſides, his intimate Knowledge and Acquaintance with Biſhop *Bull*'s Method, qualified him to make the trueſt Judgment of the Excellency of his Sermons, which was the reaſon of my Application to the worthy Doctor; upon which Account I perſuade myſelf I ſhall have the Thanks of the judicious Reader, when he ſhall have peruſed the Anſwer which the Doctor was pleaſed to write me upon that Occaſion.

SIR,

SIR,

Dr. Lupton's *Letter to Mr.* Nelson, *concerning Bp.* Bull's *Sermons.*

YOU are pleased to demand my Thoughts of Bishop Bull. *I do not remember any remarkable Passage in his Life, but what is already laid before you by other Hands.*

It is a great Satisfaction to me, upon many Accounts, that his Sermons will be published, and particularly for this Reason, That they will be, in several Respects, an excellent Model to be observed by young Clergymen in writing Sermons. He abhorred Affectation of Wit, Trains of fulsom Metaphors, and nice Words wrought up into tuneful, pointed Sentences, without any substantial Meaning at the Bottom of them. He looked upon Sermons consisting of these Ingredients, which should be our Aversion, and not our Aim, as empty and frothy and trifling, as inconsistent with the Dignity of serious and sacred Things, and as an Indication of a weak Judgment; for he was not so censorious as to imagine, either that the Authors of them do seek the Praise of Men, more than the Praise of God, or, that they do, out of Vanity, attempt to make up the real want of good Sense, by a Shew of good Words.

Indeed, true Wit, justly applied, doth deserve the utmost Praise, in Sermons as well as in other Discourses: And yet, there are many Instances of Wit, properly so called, to be found in Sermons, which ought not by any means to appear there. In saying this, I do not reflect particularly

larly upon the Sermons of any one Author, but upon this general Rule, well known to every judicious Clergyman, That whatſoever Inſtance of Wit, though pure, doth affect the Imagination alone, or doth in any Reſpect divert the Mind from a religious Diſpoſition, ought not to be admitted into religious Diſcourſes, becauſe it is repugnant to the End and Deſign of them, and prevents their proper Effect. That which would juſtly challenge the utmoſt Applauſe in common Converſation, or upon the Stage, may with equal Juſtice be exploded from the Pulpit. The proper Uſe even of true Wit doth require the very beſt Judgment: And in Both did this learned Prelate excel, though he uſed the Firſt very ſparingly in his Sermons; but the Second was abundantly demonſtrated in every one of them. For every one comprized the principal Truths which belonged to the Subject, and thoſe were ranged into the moſt natural and eaſy Order, illuſtrated with the utmoſt Clearneſs, confirmed with the utmoſt Strength of Reaſoning, and expreſſed in the moſt plain and ſignificant Words. And ſuch a rich Vein of Piety did run through the whole, as would have render'd it acceptable and delightful to any Man, who is ſincerely religious, though it were not attended with thoſe Shadows of Beauty and Ornament, which are too often thought to be the beſt Parts of a Sermon.

Fineneſs of Language and Brightneſs of Thought, ſo much talked of, are very agreeable, and

and highly to be esteemed, when they are enlivened and actuated by a Spirit of Piety: *But when This is wanting, the brightest Discourse will leave Men void of* Spiritual *Understanding; for there is* Natural *Understanding, and there is* Spiritual *Understanding. A Sermon may be very* Ingenious *throughout, and therefore heard or read with all that kind of Pleasure which* Ingenious *Writings are wont to give us, though it may not, in the least, contribute to the Knowledge of any one religious Truth, or to the Regulation of any one Passion. And if another Sermon is so happily managed, that it will answer one of the great Ends of Preaching, that it is apt either to inform the Judgment, or raise the Affections from Objects which are Earthly and Temporal, to those which are Heavenly and Eternal; That ought to be accounted an excellent Discourse, though it should not be adorned with artful Turns of Words, or other Marks of Wit, and Accuracy of Language; because every Performance is more or less perfect, as it is more or less conducive to its main End. Those therefore who are censorious enough to reflect with Severity upon the pious Strains, which are to be found in St.* Chrysostom, *Bishop* Beveridge, *or Bishop* Bull, *may possibly be good Judges of an* Ode, *or an* Essay, *but do not seem to criticize justly upon* Sermons, *or to express a just Value for* Spiritual *Things.*

I shall the more easily hope, that you will excuse me for running such a Length in these Observations,

tions, becauſe the Foundation of them is laid in thoſe Thoughts which You propoſed to,

SIR,

Your moſt Affectionate,

Humble Servant,

Nov. 25. 1712. *William Lupton.*

LXXXII *An Account of Biſhop* Bull's *Diſcourſes. And the firſt concerning the* Bleſſed Trinity.

As to thoſe Diſcourſes which accompany the forementioned Sermons, the firſt relating to *the Doctrine of the Catholick Church for the firſt three Ages of Chriſtianity concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, in Oppoſition to* Sabellianiſm *and* Tritheiſm, was drawn up at the Requeſt of a Perſon of Quality, a Lord of a very eminent Character; who having ſeriouſly conſidered that Controverſy at the time when it was debated between Dr. *Sherlock* then Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and Dr. *South*, found himſelf not clear in the Senſe of the firſt and pureſt Ages of the Church in reference to that great Myſtery. The Method his Lordſhip pitched upon to relieve himſelf under theſe Doubts, was to apply to Dr. *Bull*, that great Maſter of primitive Antiquity; but his Lordſhip having no particular Acquaintance with the Doctor, communicated his Thoughts to his worthy Friend Mr. Archdeacon *Parſons* Rector of *Odington* in *Gloceſterſhire*: This reverend Clergyman, being a Neighbour, and intimately known

known to Dr. *Bull*, engaged him to comply with his Lordſhip's Requeſt, and to endeavour to give him that Satisfaction, which he had hitherto in vain ſought for. It is true, that the ill State of Dr. *Bull*'s Health, did for ſome time delay that Anſwer which his Lordſhip impatiently expected; but as ſoon as the Doctor's Recovery gave him Ability and Leiſure, to apply his Thoughts to that momentous Subject, he drew up the ſhort Tract which is now publiſhed; and as ſoon as he had finiſhed it, he incloſed it in a Letter to Mr. Archdeacon *Parſons*, in order that it might be conveyed to my Lord, which accordingly was done, with the Letter which Dr. *Bull* wrote to the Archdeacon upon that Occaſion. Which being communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. *Doughty*, the Lord's Chaplain, I inſert it in this place as a proper Entertainment for the Reader.

Avening, Aug. 3. 1697.

Dear Brother,

Dr. Bull's *Letter to Archdeacon* Parſons.

IT hath pleaſed God to viſit me ever ſince Eaſter *laſt, till within theſe three Weeks, or thereabout, with an intermitting Fever, which brought me ſo low, that my Relations and Friends almoſt deſpaired of my Life. In all that time I was not in a Condition to read, or write, or ſo much as think of any thing, that requires Intenſeneſs of Mind: which is the reaſon, why you have no ſooner heard from me. I deſired*

my

my Son at Oxford to acquaint you with this a good while ago. I have now, though ſtill in a weak Condition, made a ſhift to recollect ſome Thoughts concerning the Matter propoſed to me, which I have delivered in the Papers now ſent you. Which, when you have peruſed, and ſhall think them worthy of it, you may ſend to his Lordſhip, (if it be not too late) with my Obedience and moſt humble Service. His Lordſhip ſeems deſirous to go in a ſafe way, between the two Extremes of Sabellianiſm and Tritheiſm. I have endeavoured to ſhew his Lordſhip that middle way, the way which the Primitive Catholick Church, guided by the Holy Scripture, walked in. A way it was plain and eaſy enough, till in after-times, it came to be over-run and perplexed with ſcholaſtick Subtleties, and hard Terms, as with ſo many Briars and Thorns; and now of late to be ridiculed by ſome among us, Men of little Wit indeed, but leſs Judgment, and yet of far leſs Honeſty; who may at the ſame rate, (if they will give their Minds to it) expoſe and explode all that is Sacred, even whatſoever relates to the incomprehenſible Deity.

What Defects there may be in the Writing, I hope will be excuſed, ſeeing I was forced therein to make uſe of a raw Youth, the Bearer hereof. Whether you tranſmit the Papers ſent, to his Lordſhip, or no, I deſire you will take an opportunity of acquainting his Lordſhip, with the Condition I have been in; that he may not think

think me so rude, as to neglect a Person of his Right honourable Character.

I have a true desire to see you, and discourse with you, especially about our sad and miserable Church of Landaff: *and if God permit, I will endeavour e'er long to creep to* Odington, *if the busy time of Harvest approaching, shall not render my coming unseasonable. Writing is as yet troublesom to me; therefore, to my hearty Prayers unto Almighty God for you and yours, I shall only add this sincere Profession, that I am,*

Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate Brother,

Friend and Servant,

George Bull.

This Discourse was received by his Lordship with much Satisfaction, as appeareth by the following Letter, found among Bishop *Bull*'s Papers after his Death, and addressed by that Person of Quality, to Mr. *Parsons*, Rector of *Odington*.

Lond. Aug. 17. 1697.

My good Friend,

Lord Arundell's *Letter to* Mr. Parsons.

MY being out of Town, is the reason you had no sooner my Acknowledgment of the receipt of yours, with the inclosed Papers, which have given me a great deal of Satisfaction.

Had

Had I been a Stranger to Mr. Parſons's *Worth, and the ill Uſage he has met with in the World, it would have been more my wonder, that ſo great and good a Man as* Dr. Bull, *ſhould have lain thus long neglected. Pray let my Thanks have the advantage of being preſented him by your Hands. I am oblig'd to you for your kindneſs, in inquiring after my Son, who is now at* Wolfenbuttel; *and I hope will at laſt prove a Comfort to him, who is eternally,*

Yours,

Arundell.

P. S.

I think the Hinge, whereon the great Point of the Trinity turns, is the true ſtating of the Diſtinction between Nature and Perſon, which I am ſo dull as to think, is not clearly done by the Biſhop of Worceſter.

The next Diſcourſe, concerning which the Reader may be apt to require ſome Information, is the *Fourth*, which containeth, *ſome Animadverſions on a Treatiſe of Mr.* Gilbert Clerke, *entituled*, Ante-niceniſmus, *ſo far as the ſaid Author pretends to anſwer Dr.* George Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith.* Now I muſt acquaint him, that the Manuſcript of theſe Animadverſions was found among Dr. *Grabe*'s Papers; and I was inclined at firſt to think that Dr. *Grabe* was the Author of them, becauſe he had undertaken to anſwer the Treatiſe upon

The fourth Diſcourſe concerning the Animadverſions upon Mr. Gilbert Clerke.

which the Animadversions were made. But having carefully perused them, it appeared very evident, that they belonged to Dr. *Bull*; for they are composed in his Style and manner of Writing, they every where refer to the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, as his own, and the latter part of them is closed in his own Hand Writing; And what puts this Matter out of dispute is, that Dr. *Grabe* is twice quoted in these Animadversions, once under the Character of *the most learned* Dr. Grabe, and another time, as the Author's *most learned and kind Friend*; now no Disguise could have prevailed upon that modest humble Man to have treated himself with so much Respect. All this I think is confirmed by a Letter of Dr. *Bull* to Dr. *Grabe*, which was found among the Papers of the latter, and is here offered to the Reader, that he may make his own Judgment upon it.

Avening. Jan. 25. 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

Worthy Sir,

Dr. Bull's Letter to Dr. Grabe.

I Am not able to express the grateful Sense I have, of your great Kindness and Condescension, in taking upon you the trouble, of revising, correcting, perfecting and adorning, with your learned Notes, the new Edition of my Works, and particularly, in your ready and voluntary undertaking an Answer to the Anti-niceniſmus. *If my poor Labours hereafter prove useful to the Church of God, a great Share of the Thanks*

due

due from Men, and of the gracious Reward of our good and merciful God, will be justly yours. I wish I were able to make you some sensible effectual Requital. But my poor Circumstances are such, that I can return you nothing but my Prayers to God, that he would reward you abundantly in this Life, and that which is to come. The short Notes and Animadversions, upon the Ante-niceniſmus, *which I mentioned in my Letter to* Dr. Bray, *you will certainly receive (if I live) this Day Sevennight. For I will send them by the Post next Saturday. I wish they be such as your Judgment may approve of. They are perfectly at your Disposal, to do with them as you please. And if there be any thing in them, which may be of use to you in your Answer to the* Ante-niceniſmus, *I shall be very glad. Dear Sir, farewel, and that God would bless and prosper you, and your Labours, for the good of his Church, is and shall be the daily and hearty Prayer of*

Your most obliged, and affectionate
Friend, and faithful Servant,
George Bull.

The Book which gave Occasion to these Animadversions, was printed in 1695, with the Title of *Ante-niceniſmus, or the Testimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the Council of Nice, whence may be collected, the Sense of the Catholick Church, touching the Trinity.*

Mr. Clerke's *Answer to Dr.* Bull, *in behalf of the* Unitarians.

And at the ſame time came out a *Latin* Anſwer alſo, to Dr. *Bull*'s *Defenſio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr. *Gilbert Clerke*, who publiſhed his Name, as not being aſhamed or afraid to own what he had written, becauſe he took it to be the very Cauſe of God, and of his *Unity* againſt all ſorts of *Polytheiſts*. Theſe two Treatiſes were accompanied by a third, without the Author's Name, called, *The true and ancient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Chriſt, aſſerted, againſt* Dr. George Bull's *Judgment of the Catholick Church*, &c.

Theſe * three Tracts came out together, that ſo the Unitarians might thereby take an occaſion, to boaſt of a complete Anſwer in *Latin*, to all that our Author had hitherto written in this Controverſy; for it was about a Year after, that *the Judgment of the Catholick Church*, &c. had been printed and received generally with great Applauſe, that theſe were publiſhed.

The *Ante-niceniſmus* is not indeed a direct Anſwer to Dr. *Bull*; for it may be doubted whether Mr. *Clerke* had ever once read the Doctor's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, or even

* Tractatus tres; Quorum qui prior Ante-niceniſmus dicitur; is exhibet teſtimonia Patrum Ante-nicenorum, in quibus elucet ſenſus Eccleſiæ Primævo-Catholicæ quoad Articulum de Trinitate. In Secundo Brevis reſponſio ordinatur ad D. *G. Bulli, Defenſionem Synodi Nicenæ*, Authore *Gilberto Clerke*, Anglo. Argumentum Poſtremi. Vera & Antiqua Fides de divinitate Chriſti explicata & aſſerta, contra D. *Bulli Judicium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, &c. per Anonymum, Anno Domini, 1695.

ſo

ſo much as looked into it, when this Book was by him compiled; but it ſeemeth to be chiefly in Imitation of the *Irenicum Irenicorum* of *Zwickerus* and the *Nucleus* of *Sandius*, with a deſign to ſhew, if poſſible, the Conſent of the Primitive Writers before the Determination of the Council of *Nice* for the Opinion which he had embraced. Now it appears, that after Mr. *Gilbert Clerke* had printed his *Ante-Niceniſmus*, yet not improbably before it was publiſhed; and after that he had made ſome *Additions* thereto, concerning *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from the *Paris* Edition of his Works juſt then come to his Hands, by way of Supplement to the ſaid *Ante-Niceniſmus*, or by way of Introduction to that Tract joined to it; which *Additions* are therefore placed in the beginning of his *Brevis Reſponſio;* yea even before any the leaſt Notice is taken of our Author, or what he had written on that Subject; Mr. *Clerke* being *upbraided by one of his Friends for ſo raſhly adventuring to write on this Subject, without firſt conſulting or examining well what ſo great a Man as Dr. *Bull* had been able to ſay thereupon; then procured, as he ſaith, the Doctor's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and carefully read it through, which he did purely from the

* Poſt hæc de Clemente Ante-Niceniſmo addita procuravi mihi doctiſſimi viri D. Georgii Bulli *Defenſionem Fidei Nicenæ*, quam totam diligenter perlegi, eóque diligentius, quoniam amicus quidam exprobavit mihi quod ſcriberem tali & tanto viro fere penitus inconſulto. *Brevis Reſponſ.* p. 77.

Recommendation of that Friend, not upon any Deſire of his own for fuller Satisfaction in this Matter; he taking it for granted that Dr. *Bull*, in the laſt Section of his *Defence*, which is concerning the *Subordination*, had yielded great part of the Queſtion up to the *Unitarians*; and thence doth ſeem to have been perfectly unacquainted with the very Book he had undertaken to anſwer, till he had finiſhed the better half of his Task; as may preſently be ſeen by caſting but an Eye upon theſe two Tracts, if that they may not rather be conſidered as *two* Parts only of the ſame Work.

LXXXIII. *The manner of Mr.* Clerke's *Writing for the* Unitarians *againſt the Doctor.*

After Mr. *Clerke* had read over Dr. *Bull*'s Book upon his Friend's Perſuaſion, he continued ſtill firm to his former Opinion, and not to be moved from what he had written; pretending that he ſaw not any reaſon why he ſhould expunge ſo much as one Line out of that Collection he had made of the Teſtimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, from whence he had given it the Title of *Ante-Niceniſm*. Though he * acknowledged Dr. *Bull* at the ſame time to be far his ſuperior in the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and that he wanted neither Induſtry nor Sagacity, or Acuteneſs, to read and judge of them as he ought, beſides ſeveral other Advantages that were poſſeſſed by him. Notwithſtanding which he made no

* Brev. Reſp. *p.* 78.

doubt,

doubt, but that he should be able to defend what he had written, and to justifie those Testimonies which he had brought out of the Fathers, as depending upon the supposed Goodness of his Cause and the Power of Truth.

And he accuseth all the Trinitarians, both Papists and Protestants, for pretending to have all the primitive Fathers on their Side in the Article of the Trinity from the Apostles downwards: But excuseth the Unitarians for being more modest in the matter, and commendeth them for the only Persons who have Ingenuity enough to own frankly that the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, do not so wholly agree with them. Nay, he sayeth, that these Unitarians are unanimously agreed to dispute against those primitive Doctors even before the Council of *Nice*, who took up their Notions concerning Christ according to him, not from the Scriptures, but from their own Imaginations, and from the Philosophy in which they had been before instructed. And yet nevertheless he and his Companions value themselves, that the Doctors of the three first Centuries were generally of the same Opinion with themselves, as holding the Father only to be the most High God. However *Justin Martyr* cannot escape being pelted at (a certain Mark he was not of the same Opinion with them) for an Innovator; nor indeed any of those whom he is pleased to name the *Philosophical Doctors*, who are here represented

by him as the great Corrupters of the Gospel, and Introducers of Paganism into the Church.

Thus are the venerable Doctors of the first Ages of Christianity dressed up by him, so as they may be exposed for weak and insufficient Evidences of the Christian Faith, and at the very time too, that an Appeal is pretended to be made to their Authority. For it is pretended by this Writer, that these primitive Divines, most of whom sealed with their Blood that Faith which they delivered down to us, were no better than half Christians; who had taken up their Notions concerning the Son of God, not from Christ himself, or his Apostles, but from their own Fancies and the School of *Plato*; and that what they had been taught in the Academy of this Philosopher, was by them obtruded as Matter of Faith upon the People; to the fulfilling hereby the divine Predictions in the Mystery of the *great Apostacy*, by their causing thus the Christian Church to depart from the original Simplicity of the Faith. And moreover he boasteth that there were great Number of the Unitarians, who lived near the Days of the Apostles, and were likewise esteemed great Philosophers and Mathematicians. The Names of several of whom he reciteth, and they are either such as apostatized from Christianity to Judaism, or corrupted the Christian Faith by introducing novel Heresies, or having formerly denied the Deity

ty of our Saviour, returned afterwards to the orthodox Communion, as did *Natalis* and *Beryllus*.

It is his Opinion that the Doctrine of the Trinity, as explained by the Orthodox, is a Branch of * Montaniſm, and that *Tertullian*, after he had been inſtructed by *Montanus*, invented a *New Rule of Faith*, by which he laid the Foundation of Athanaſianiſm. Wherein he hath followed *Schlictingius*, who was the firſt that ſtarted this Charge, and attempted to prove it in the † Book he wrote againſt Dr. *Meiſner*, an eminent Lutheran Divine, concerning the Trinity, and other Matters of higheſt Importance. And hereupon he calleth *Tertullian* the ‖ *New Trinitarian* with great Indignation, and alſo the *Father of the Trinitarians*; as if the Trinitarian Scheme were originally nought but an Enthuſiaſm of *Montanus* and his Propheteſſes dreſſed up by this his Diſciple. And that he might expoſe the divine OEconomy of the ever Bleſſed Trinity, by which the Father is conceived as the Fountain and Original with reſpect to the Son and Spirit, for an Enthuſiaſtick Jargon; he will allow our great Defenders of the Catholick Doctrine in this Point no better Appellation

* Ante-Niceniſmus, *p.* 23, 24.

† De S.S. Trinitate, de moralibus N. & V. Teſt. præceptis ac diſputatio adverſus Balth. Meiſner, vide Præfat.

‖ Multa id genus habet hic novus Triniſtarius & Trinitariorum Pater. Ante-Nicen. *p.* 25.

than

than that of *our Fontaniſts and Montaniſts*. For, as he ſuppoſeth, the *Platonick* and *Arian Trinity* to have been chiefly the Innovation of *Juſtin Martyr*; ſo he fancieth the *Nicene* and *Athanaſian Trinity* to have been principally derived from *Tertullian* after that he was infected with the Cataphrygian Hereſy; and that the Doctrine particularly of the Son's *Conſubſtantiality* with the Father, and the *Coeternity* conſequent from it, was taken up from the Reſveries of thoſe Fanaticks.

But after all, Mr. *Clerke* would ſeem ſo generous as even to * grant to Dr. *Bull* both the *Conſubſtantiality* and *Coeternity*, if the Doctor would reſt ſatisfied therewith, and not level his Darts, as he doth every where throughout his Book, againſt the Unitarians, for not owning Chriſt to be *the moſt High God*, and to have the ſame *Numerical Eſſence* with the Father: Yea, he is content that his Unitarian Brethren ſhould not only acknowledge him as *God*, but as the *great God* alſo, and even as *God over all bleſſed for ever*. Nay, he maketh no manner of Doubt of their allowing him theſe Titles: So that where any of theſe occur either in the ſacred Writers, or in the primitive Monuments of Chriſtianity before the Council of *Nice*, as applied to Chriſt, they ſhall make no Scruple of receiving them, and freely uſing them with reſpect to him; but all this while continue as wide as ever from the

* Brevis Reſponſ. *p.* 100. *and* 78, 79.

Senſe

Sense the *Trinitarians* put on those Words, who understand them in their proper Signification. Whereas he will have them understood always *appellatively*; that is, in the same Sense as Angels and earthly Princes have the *Appellation* of Gods. Thus Christ they will vouchsafe to own may be *called* so with respect to us, or as he is the *Christ*, or anointed of *God*, and *our Lord*: And that he is a *great God*, above all other made or called Gods, and by reason of *that Majesty and Divinity which he hath obtained by the Gift of God, being exalted to sit at his Right Hand*, may be esteemed *God over all*, and therefore by us *blessed for ever*. This is his short way to get rid of Dr. *Bull*'s Fathers, but more particularly of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who is very troublesome to him, and cost him much Pains before this Expedient was invented.

There is also one thing more remarkable in Mr. *Clerke*'s Answer, and is, I think, his own Invention; at least he is very fond of it as such, for it runneth almost quite through his Book, and the main Stress of his Arguments against the Doctor, turneth upon it. This is the Distinction of *High Sense and Low Sense*: According to which, he hath laid it down for a Foundation, that all the high Expressions which are found either in the Scriptures or the Fathers, denoting a divine and super-eminent Character, are differently to be understood; that is, they must always be taken by us in the

the *High Senſe*, when the Father is ſpoken of, and in the *Low Senſe*, when the Son is meant. By the help of this Diſtinction it was, he thought, eaſy for him to bear down all the Teſtimonies, though never ſo plain, that could be brought againſt him by Dr. *Bull*, or any other. Let it ſuffice to have given this ſhort Account, both of his *Ante-Niceniſm*, and his *Anſwer* to Dr. *Bull*; to whoſe learned and judicious Animadverſions, contained in the *Fourth Diſcourſe*, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, the Reader is referred for his full Satisfaction; though the whole Scheme is ſo precarious and inconſiſtent, that it doth not appear capable of doing any great Miſchief.

Some Account of the Life and Character of Mr. Gilbert Clerke.

This Mr. *Gilbert Clerke* was the Son of Mr. *John Clerke*, School-maſter of *Uppington* in *Rutland*. He was admitted into *Sidney College* at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1641. being then ſcarce of the Age of fifteen; ſeven Years after this he was made Fellow of the Houſe, having taken the Degree of Maſter of Arts. After three Years more, being then about five and twenty, he received Presbyterian Orders, and his Allowance in the College thereupon was augmented, as their Statutes require for thoſe who are ordained *Prieſts*. The next Year he was created Proctor of the Univerſity. He left his Fellowſhip after the Commencement, 1655, refuſing to take his Degree of Batchelor in Divinity, to which the Statutes obliged him. The reaſon of his retiring ſo from the College,

and

and refuſing to take that Degree, was doubtleſs upon the account of his Principles, of which he was much ſuſpected, but never in the College convicted, as I could ever hear. His Learning lay chiefly in the Mathematicks, but he was alſo eſteemed a very good *Grecian*, and a great Scripturiſt. He chiefly conſulted the modern Criticks, when he read the Bible, not omitting the Polonians, or elſe truſted to his own Invention and Sagacity in that part of Divinity, without ever adviſing with the Ancients, of whom he had a very low Eſteem. He thought the Controverſy between us and the Church of *Rome*, not worthy his Study; becauſe the Errors of the Papiſts ſeemed to him ſo groſs and palpable, as not to need it. He betook himſelf therefore to read the *Socinian* Writers, whence he became in the main a *Socinian*; yet he did not ſymbolize with them in their Errors touching the divine Attributes, upon which account he would ſometimes ſay, he was no *Socinian*. Some alſo, to whom he was perſonally known, have excepted the Point of the *Satisfaction*, for he ſeemed indeed to have had ſome particular Notions of his own about this Matter. He was a Man of an open and frank Diſpoſition, but withal too bold, and eaſily to be heated; otherwiſe, the Conduct of his Life was ſober and regular, not blemiſhed with any remarkable Immorality, but rather abounding with good Works, which he earneſtly preſſed. He was very buſy and zea-

zealous, in defending those new Principles which he had taken up, and which the gross Absurdities of the *Antinomian* System, then much in vogue, had probably contributed more than a little to fling him into. After that he quitted the University, he went and lived very retired in *Northamptonshire*, and his Elder Brother dying about that time, an Estate came to him of 40*l.* a Year, which was looked upon by his Friends, as a providential Blessing to him, and prevented his wanting. He was for certain an excellent Mathematician, his Book upon Mr. *Oughtred*'s *Clavis*, being much valued by the ablest Judges in that part of Learning. But it is the Opinion even of some of his Friends, that he was not so thoroughly versed in the *Arian* Controversy, about which he engaged. It appears, that Mr. *Clerke* did not long survive this his Answer to Dr. *Bull*, for within three Years after the Edition of it, I find his Name and Character in a certain * *Socinian* Pamphlet, as some time before dead, with several others, who had maintained in this Kingdom the Cause of the *Unitarians*. The Substance of that imperfect and anonymous Tract, printed against Dr. *Bull*'s *Judgment of the Catholick Church*, &c. will be found sufficiently answered in that Book of the *Primitive and Apostolical Tradition*, &c. which Dr. *Bull*

* *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy, concerning the Unity of God*, &c. *Quarto*. 1698. p. 17.

pub-

publiſhed againſt Dr. *Zwicker*, upon whoſe Principles that Writer buildeth very much; and which was the laſt of all the *Latin* Works of our Author, publiſhed in his Life-time.

LXXXIV. *The* fifth Diſcourſe, *concerning* the State of Man before the Fall, &c.

The *Fifth* and Laſt *Diſcourſe*, which is now printed, and entituled, *Concerning the firſt Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Senſe of the Primitive Doctors of the Catholick Church*; was drawn up by our learned Author many Years ago, and as near as I can gueſs, about the time that he was engaged in the Controverſy of Juſtification. It plainly appeareth, that it coſt him a great deal of Labour and Study, and he ſeemed, upon ſome Occaſions, to expreſs himſelf with ſome Favour towards it. For having lent it to a certain Perſon, whoſe Name he had forgot, it was loſt for many Years, and recovered by the following Accident. A neighbouring Clergyman dying, Mr. *Stephens*, Son-in-law to the Biſhop, bought part of his Books, and among his Pamphlets found this Treatiſe, which he immediately brought to the Author, who could not forbear declaring his Satisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had beſtowed no ſmall pains. After this, it was read by ſome conſiderable Clergymen in that Neighbourhood, and at laſt communicated to his particular Friend, Dr. *Fowler*, the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, in whoſe Hands it had lain ſo long, that his Lordſhip, when

when I applied to him upon that account, had entirely loſt any Remembrance of it. But he was pleaſed very readily to conſent to the Propoſal I made, of having his Manuſcripts ſearched by ſome able and faithful Perſon; this happily anſwered my Expectation, and in a few Days the Manuſcript was brought me, writ all in Dr. *Bull's* own Hand, with which I was very well acquainted.

Communicated to Dr. Hickes. *His Character.*

Whatever Sentiments I might have upon the peruſal of this excellent Treatiſe, I was unwilling to truſt my own Judgment in a Matter of that Nature, and therefore I immediately communicated the Work, to my very learned and worthy Friend, Dr. *Hickes*, that great Maſter of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, and the moſt conſiderable Reviver of Primitive Theology, that hath appeared in our Time. Though he is admirably skilled in other parts of uſeful Learning, yet he hath laboured with great Succeſs in * untrodden Paths, a certain Mark of a great Genius, whereby the utmoſt Parts of *Europe* will have an occaſion to celebrate his profound Erudition. But he excelleth in his own Profeſſion, having built his Study of Divinity upon the holy Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers of the Church, as the beſt Expoſitors of thoſe ſacred Writings; and hath thereby created ſuch a regard to Antiquity in the Generation of young Divines, that are now

* Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Theſaurus Grammatico-Criticus & Archæologicus. Autore *Georgio Hickeſio*, S. T. P. MDCCV. Fol. 2. Vol.

riſing

riſing among us, that we may hope to ſee the next Age preſerved from the Infection of thoſe Latitudinarian Principles, which have too much prevailed in this. His readineſs to communicate his Knowledge, draweth an Application to him from Men of the greateſt Figure for their Talents, and renders his Friendſhip a true and valuable Bleſſing. But above all, the ſolid and ſubſtantial Piety of his Conduct, maketh his Example a conſtant Inſtruction to thoſe, who live within the reach of it. It was to this excellent Friend, that I propoſed the peruſal of Biſhop *Bull*'s Treatiſe, which I had recovered from the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. I am apt to think, the judicious Reader will be very well pleaſed with the Method I took, when he ſhall have read the learned Anſwer, which I received from that eminent Divine upon this Occaſion, which is here inſerted for his Edification.

Dr. *Hickes*'s Letter to Mr. *Nelſon*, about Biſhop *Bull*'s fifth Diſcourſe.

Honoured Sir, *Hamſtead, Aug.* 5. 1712.

I Thank you very heartily for the Entertainment I have had here in reading the incloſed Manuſcript, as well as for the great Pleaſure I had in reading the ſame Author's moſt excellent manuſcript Sermons, when I was in Town. I have read it attentively twice over with the greateſt Pleaſure; and I think it, both as to the Learning, and ſolid Reaſoning in it, equal to any thing that great Man hath written in either Language, and what, I believe, will be judged by Divines, as one of the beſt Tracts among his

Remains, and as worthy as any of them of his great Name. Before I read it, I was not perfectly convinced of the Truth of his ſecond Propoſition, viz. That our firſt Parents, beſides the Seeds of natural Virtue and Religion, and the Innocence and Rectitude wherein they were created, were alſo endowed with certain ſupernatural Gifts, and Powers infuſed by the Spirit of God; without which, their natural Powers were of themſelves not ſufficient to attain an heavenly Immortality. *I am not aſhamed to confeſs, that like many of my Betters in Divinity, I was not ſettled in the Belief of this Doctrine, before I read this Diſcourſe; but now I rejoice in my Conviction of the Truth of it: becauſe, as the learned Author obſerves, it utterly overthrows the* Pelagian *Hereſy, and ſhews the abſolute Neceſſity of Divine Grace to Fallen Man; without which, it is impoſſible for him to attain that Righteouſneſs, which upon Goſpel-Terms is neceſſary to Salvation.*

The way he hath taken to prove the Doctrine in his ſecond Propoſition, will, I hope, convince all Students in Divinity, how neceſſary it is to read the ancient Fathers, in Order downward from the Apoſtolical Age, and to ſhew the Folly of thoſe Men, who either out of Ignorance, or Prejudice, or much worſe Cauſes, endeavour by their ſeveral Ways, to weaken the Authority of thoſe primitive Divines, and bring their Writings into contempt, becauſe they cannot ſtand before them. Accordingly, the Men who thus

conſpire,

conſpire, as it were, to blaſt them, are of ſeveral Claſſes and Sorts. Some ſpeak and write againſt them out of Malice, as the Phariſees ſpake againſt our Saviour, and his Miracles; I mean, thoſe πρωτοτοκοι τȣ̃ Σατανα, the Deiſts, and all other profeſſed Enemies, and Ridiculers of revealed Religion, to whom the Apoſtle himſelf would have ſaid: O full of all Subtlety, and all Miſchief, ye Children of the Devil, you Enemies of all Righteouſneſs; will you not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord? Others, again, ſpeak and write againſt the Fathers, becauſe their ancient Writings are contrary to the heretical Doctrines and Schemes, of theſe our modern Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians of all ſorts, among whom I reckon the Quakers, who, as Unitarians, I cannot but obſerve, are qualified to make Members of the Society, that I hear is now a forming, under the pretence of advancing Chriſtianity. Next to theſe I may reckon the other Sects among us, which I care not to name; but who are alſo againſt the Fathers, for no other reaſon, but becauſe their Writings bear Teſtimony againſt them. Juſt as Mr. Hobbes obſerves, if Reaſon is againſt a Man, a Man will be againſt Reaſon. But the Adverſaries of the Fathers, who are moſt to be deplored, are thoſe, who endeavour to depretiate their Writings, merely becauſe they are contrary to ſome Opinions, which they have had the misfortune to imbibe from the Syſtematical, Controverſial, or other Writers ſince the Reformation. But, as

the learned Biſhop ſaith, I hope the Ingenuous a-mong this ſort of their Adverſaries, will learn from his Works, and particularly from this Diſ-courſe, " of the State of Man before the Fall, *the* " *Modeſty of ſubmitting their Judgments to that* " *of the Catholick Doctors, where they are* " *found generally to concur in the Interpretation* " *of Scripture, how abſurd ſoever that In-*" *terpretation may at firſt appearance to them* " *ſeem to be.*

Among theſe deſpiſers and diſparagers of the ancient Fathers, are thoſe bold (*and I will add ignorant*) Men to be found, *who, as this great Divine ſpeaks,* faſten this Charge upon them, *namely, that they taught the ſame Doctrine, which the Church afterwards condemned in* Pelagius, *who aſſerted a Sufficiency in Man's natural Powers, even in his lapſed Eſtate, without the Grace of God, to perform thoſe things, which conduce to eternal Life promiſed in the Goſpel. Among our modern Writers, he only mentions Mr.* Baxter, *for this bold and groundleſs Aſſertion; of which, though the utter Falſeneſs doth ſo plainly appear, from what the Biſhop hath cited out of the Fathers, to prove his ſecond Propoſition; yet for a farther Vindication of thoſe primitive Guides, and Lights of the Church, from this unjuſt Aſperſion, as well as to vindicate the Doctrine of* Divine Grace, *and its Antiquity, give me leave, Sir, to preſent you with ſome clear Teſtimonies to the contrary, out of a few manual Companions, which with*

ſome

ſome others, I ſeldom leave behind me, when I retire into the Country.

I will begin with St. Clemens Romanus *in his Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, Oxford *Edition*, p. 16. § 8. Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τ̃ χάριτος τ̃ Θεοῦ. κ. τ. λ. The Miniſters of the Grace of God ſpake of Repentance by the Holy Ghoſt. *From hence I proceed, though a little out of the Order of time, to* Clemens Alexandrinus, *in his Book entituled* τὶς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος, *which was publiſhed at* Oxford 1683, *with an Appendix of Fragments added to it by the Editor of immortal Name, Dr.* Fell *Biſhop of* Oxford. *The firſt Teſtimonies out of him ſhall be thoſe, in which he mentions the Word* ΧΑΡΙΣ GRACE, *as in his Prayer or Hymn* [ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΝ] *to God, in Honour of his Maſter.* Chriſt. p. 155, 156.

Ἄναξ βροτῶν μέλιτος, ἢ καλῶν δότηρ,
Ἐσθλῶν χορηγέ, ——————
Αὐτὸς ζῶόν τε ἢ σὴν ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ βιῶν,
ΧΑΡΙΝ τε σὴν ἀσφαλῶς παράσχέ μοι,
Ποιεῖν τε κ̀ πᾶς σὰς λέξειν Θεοὺς γραφάς,
Αἰνεῖν ἀεί σε, κ̀ τ ἐκ Σοῦ * πανσοφὸν
Τόν Σοι συνόντα κ̀ παρόντα Σοι ΛΟΓΟΝ.

* This Epithet is given to *GOD* by *Philo*, in his Book *de Opificio Mundi.*

O Sovereign Lord of mortal Men, the Giver, and Beſtower of all good, and profitable things, grant that I may live the Life, which thou haſt given me, in Safety, and give me *thy Grace* without Blame to practiſe, and preach thy di-

vine Word, [*and*] always to praiſe Thee, *and* * *the* OMNISCIENT ΛΟΓΟΣ, *who is* of Thee, *who is coexiſtent* with Thee, *and who is preſent* to Thee. *So* p. 41, 42. Ουτως ἥδε τῷ Σωτῆρι ἀκέσαι λέγοντι· δεῦρο ἀκολούθει Μοι. Ὁδὸς γὰρ ἀυτὸς ἥδη τῷ καθαρῷ τὴν καρδίαν γίνεται· εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν, Θεοῦ ΧΑΡΙΣ ὐ παρεισδύεται. So (preſenting an humble, and unprejudiced Soul,) he ought to hearken to our Saviour, ſpeaking thus: Come and follow me. For he is the way to him, who hath a pure Heart; but into an impure Soul, *the Grace of God* doth not enter. *The like Expreſſion hath that great Jewiſh Divine, the Author of the Book of Wiſdom,* Εις κακοτεχνον ψυχὴν ὐκ εἰσελεύσεται Σοφία. Wiſdom ſhall not enter into a malicious Soul. *For the Doctrine of* Divine Grace *was a Jewiſh, as well as a Chriſtian Doctrine, as may be eaſily proved from the* Old Teſtament, *and the Jewiſh Apocryphal Fathers, as well as from the* New Teſtament, *and the Fathers of the moſt early Times. But to return to the Word* ΧΑΡΙΣ, *you know that, as well as* Gratia, *it ſignifies a free, or gratuitous Gift, or Benefaction, from whence* χαρίζομαι *ſignifies to give, or grant freely, as a Benefactor; and therefore the Word is uſed by* Clemens *in another place, to ſignifie that ſpiritual Strength and Aſſiſtance, given by God to thoſe, who deſire to be ſaved, which we call*

* *Or,* him, who is of Thee, him who is coexiſtent with Thee, and him, who is preſent to Thee, the Omniſcient ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Grace,

Grace. Χάρις *is alſo uſed for* Grace *by an elder Father*; St. Ignatius, *in ſeveral of his Epiſtles, as in that to the* Magneſians. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, &c. For this Cauſe, being inſpired by his *Grace*, they endured Perſecution, to perſuade Unbelievers, that there is one God, who hath manifeſted himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt his Son, who is his *eternal Logos*, not proceeding from ſilence; who in all things pleaſed him who ſent him. *So in his Epiſtle to the Church of* Smyrna, Καλὰ θέλημα ἠξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος, ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ, ἣν εὔχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι. But I was made worthy according to the Will of God, not that I was conſcious [*of any Worthineſs in my ſelf*,] but by the *Grace of God*, which I pray may be given to me in perfection. *So in the ſame Epiſtle*, Πάντα ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσεύετω. Let all things by Grace abound among you. *And in the Concluſion*, Χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη. Grace, Mercy, and Peace be to you. *So in his Epiſtle to* Polycarp, Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἣ ἐνδέδυσαι. I beſeech thee by the *Grace* of God, with which thou art arrayed, or endowed. *And in that to the* Romans, I ſalute you in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt — who have been perfectly united in all his Commandments, [πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως] filled in Unity with the Grace of God.

Among other Scripture Senſes of the Word, it is certainly uſed in this for Grace, *as in* 2 Cor.

xii. 9. Καὶ εἴρηκέ μοι, Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμίς μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται. And he ſaid unto me, my *Grace* is ſufficient for thee, for my *Strength* is made perfect in Weakneſs. *And I think it cannot be taken in any other Senſe in ſuch Apoſtolical Prayers as theſe,* The *Grace* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your Spirit, *which is the ſame, as* The Lord Jeſus Chriſt (*by his Grace*) be with thy Spirit, 2 *Tim.* iv. 22.

Gal. 6. 18. Philem. 25.

The next noble Teſtimony for Grace, *which I ſhall produce out of my* Clemens, *is in* p. 98. *where he ſaith, that Chriſt took upon him the Nature of Man, and willingly ſuffered as Man,* Ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν, ὃς ἠλάπησε, μετρηθεὶς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀνυμετρήσῃ. That accommodating himſelf to our Weakneſs, whom he loved, he might proportionably exalt us to his Power. *So* p. 90. Οὐκ ὄπῳ ἄμβυοι πλοῦτον τινὰ ὀστρακίνῳ σκεύει βαστάζομεν, δυνάμει Θεοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ αἵματι Θεοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ δρόσῳ Πνεύματος ἁγίου περιλελειγμένοι; for ſo I read it, inſtead of περιλελειγμένον. Being blind, and not underſtanding, what Treaſure we carry in an earthen Veſſel, being fortified by the Power of God the Father, and the Blood of God the Son, and the Dew of the Holy Ghoſt. *So likewiſe,* p. 106. Ἐστι μὲν ἐν ἀδύνατον ἴσως, ἀθρόως ἀποκόψαι πάθη συνέφυα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀνθρωπείας ἐπιστασίας, καὶ ἀδελφῶν βοηθείας, καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς μετανοίας, καὶ συνεχοῦς μελέτης κατορθοῦνται. Though it be alike impoſſible, preſently to mortifie the Paſſions that are bred up with us; yet by the

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POWER *of God*, and the Supplications of Men, and the Help of the Brethren, and a ſincere Repentance, and continual Care, they are rectified. *So* p. 57, Ὁ ὁ Κύριος ἀποκρίνεται· διότι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον, δυνατὸν Θεῷ· πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο μεγάλης σοφίας μεστόν ἐστιν. ὅτι καθ' αὑτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῶν καὶ διαπονούμενος ἀπαθείαν ἀνθρωπος, ἐὰν μόνον ἀνύει· ἐὰν δὲ γένηται δῆλος σφόδρα πονούμενος τοῦτο καὶ διεσπουδακώς, τῇ προσθήκῃ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως τελειοῦται. βουλομένοις μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ψυχαῖς συνεμπνεῖ. εἰ δὲ ἀπολείποι τὴν προθυμίας, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα συνεσταλη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντας σώζειν, ἐστὶ βιαζομένου· τὸ δὲ αἱρουμένοις, χαριζομένου. But the Lord anſwered, *What is impoſſible with Men, is poſſible with God.* Which [*Saying*] alſo is full of much Wiſdom, becauſe the Man, who ſtrives and labours by himſelf to overcome his Affections, profits nothing; but if he plainly is very deſirous of it, and uſeth his utmoſt Endeavours to attain it, he ſhall attain thereunto by the acceſſion of God's Power, [*or Strength*;] for God inſpires *willing* Souls; but if they go off from their Willingneſs, the Spirit of God, which was given to them, will contract itſelf, [*and return.*] For to ſave them who are unwilling to be ſaved, is the part of an Agent, that uſeth *Force*; but to ſave thoſe, who chooſe Salvation, is [Χαριζομένου] the part of one, who freely and kindly grants his Help.

Sir, you cannot but obſerve here, that though the Doctrine of God's ordinary Grace is ſo clearly expreſſed in this Paſſage, yet it is as plain againſt irre-

irreſiſtible Grace; for God, ſaith he, forces no Man, but only helps the willing; according to that of St. Ignatius, *Epiſt.* ad Smyrn. Τέλειοι γὰρ ὄντες, τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. Θέλει γὰρ ὑμῖν εὐπρόσδεκτον Θεὸς ἑτοιμᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. As ye are perfect, ſo mind things that are perfect; for God is ready to aſſiſt you who are willing to do good. *But a plainer Paſſage for Grace, and againſt ordinary irreſiſtible Grace, cannot be found, than this which follows,* p. 25. 26. [ΕΙ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ,] οὐκ ἄρα πω τέλειος ἦν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τελείου τελειότερον· καὶ θείως τὸ, εἰ θέλεις, τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς προσδιαλεγομένης αὐτῷ ψυχῆς ἐδήλωσεν. ὅτι μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἦν ἡ αἵρεσις, ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ· ὅτι δὲ Θεῷ ἡ δόσις, ὡς Κυρίῳ. δίδωσι δὲ βουλομένοις, καὶ προσπαθοῦσι, καὶ δεομένοις, ἵν' ἔτως ἰδίως αὐτῷ ἡ σωτηρία γένηται. ὃ γὰρ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕΙ ὁ Θεὸς, βία γὰρ ἐχθρὸν Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ζητοῦσι πορίζει, καὶ τοῖς κρούσιν ἀνοίγει. Εἰ θέλεις δέ, εἰ ἁπλῶς θέλεις, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατᾷς, κτῆσαι τὸ ἐνδοθέν. &c. [IF THOU WILT BE PERFECT.] He was not as yet perfect; for nothing is perfecter than that which is perfect. And what was ſpoken by God, *if thou wilt*, ſhewed the freedom of the Soul that diſcourſed with him. For Man had a Power of chooſing, as he was free; but Giving belongs to God, as he is the Lord. And he gives to them, who are willing, and earneſtly ſtrive and pray; that in this Senſe their Salvation may be owing to themſelves. For God compells none; for Compulſion agrees not with him; but he adminiſters to them that ſeek, and beſtows on them that ask, and opens

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to them that knock. If thou wilt therefore, if thou wilt in good earneſt have what thou wanteſt, and doeſt not deceive thyſelf, *&c. Theſe Authorities, Sir, weigh more with me, than all the Authorities of modern Writers, in behalf of irreſiſtible Grace; which you ſee as to* ordinary *Grace at leaſt, was not the Divinity of the primitive Times, though the Doctrine of Divine Grace was.*

You cannot alſo but obſerve, how many Words are here ſignificative of Grace, *as* Δύναμις, Συνεπιπνεῖ, Δοὺδὲν ὂν Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα, *and* Χαριζομένου, *the Word, which, I told you above, my* Clemens *uſed in another place. Here is Grace in various Terms, and the Spirit of God the Author of* Grace, *mentioned together; and as for* [Δύναμις,] *the Scripture Word for* Grace, *that is alſo in St.* Ignatius, *as in that Paſſage of his Epiſtle to the* Epheſians; Let me be always partaker of your Prayers, that I may be found in the Lot of the Epheſian Chriſtians, who τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, always were of one Mind with the Apoſtles in the Power of Jeſus Chriſt. *So in the Concluſion of his Epiſtle to the Church of* Smyrna; Ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν Δυνάμει Πνευματος. Farewel, *or* be ſtrong in the Power of the Spirit; *and afterward,* ἔρρωσθε ἐν χαρίτι Θεοῦ, Farewel in the Grace of God. *So in his Epiſtle to the* Romans, Μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε, ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω. ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ. Only

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beg Strength for me, both from within and from without, that I may not only talk, but resolve; and not only be called, but be found a Christian. *So likewise in his Epistle* ad Smyrn. Ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας, ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ, μεταξὺ θηρίων, μεταξὺ Θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπομένω αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος, ἵνα τελείως ἀνθρωπος γένωμαι. When we are near the Scaffold, we are near to God, and all the while we are *from* the wild Beasts, so long we are *from* God; only I endure all things for the Name of *Jesus Christ*, to suffer with him, he strengthening me, who was made perfect Man,

Grace is also expressed by the Apostle, by the Word δύναμις, *and* ἐνδυναμοῦν, Ephes. 3. 16. That he would grant you according to the Riches of his Glory, [δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι] to be strengthened with Might by his Spirit in the inner Man. *Col.* 1. 10, 11. That ye might walk worthy of the Lord, unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good Work, and increasing in the Knowledge of God: [ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι] strengthened with all Might, according to his glorious Power, unto all Patience and Long-suffering, with Joyfulness. *So* Phil. 4. 13. Πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Χριστῷ, I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. *To which I may add,* ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 2 Tim. 2. 1. *Where both Words are put together*; Thou therefore, my Son, be strong in

in the Grace that is in Jeſus Chriſt. *The next Authority I ſhall produce for the Divine Grace, is out of* Clemens, *and of the ſame nature with what I quoted before out of* p. 90. *it is* p. 105. τοῦτ' ἔστι μετανοῶναι, This is to repent, to grieve for Sins paſt, and to beg Forgiveneſs of God for them; *who only by* his Mercy, can make things done, as if they had not been done, Ἐλέῳ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δρόσῳ Πνεύματος. ἀπαλείψαι τὰ πεπλημμελημένα, by the Mercy which is from him, and the Dew [*that is the Grace*] of the Holy Ghoſt, to waſh away our paſt Offences.

To theſe may be added thoſe Teſtimonies, which ſpeak of God and Chriſt, and the Holy Spirit dwelling in us, p. 90. Σχῆμα τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν περιβεβλημένον, ὃ εἰς κόσμου παιδοτρόφου προφάσις, ἵνα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο παιδευτήριον εἰσελθεῖν δυνηθῶμεν· ἀλλ' ἔνδον ὁ κρυπτὸς ἐνοικεῖ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανὼν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀναστάς. This Habit [*of Poverty*] with which we are outwardly cloathed, is the occaſion of our coming into this World, that we may enter into this common School; but the Father dwells inviſibly within us, and his Son who died for us, and roſe again with us. P. 102. Ἂν τις τὸ τε——ἢ διὰ ἄγνοιαν ἢ πεῖρασιν, ἀκούσιον, μετὰ τῆς αφεσιγάδος καὶ τῆς λύτρωσιν παρεμπλησης ταῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, ἢ καθαπτώμασιν ὡς ὑπαννέχθαι πλέιον· ὅτι θεὸς καταφιλεῖται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ μετ' ἀληθείας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπιστρέψαντι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνεῴγασιν αἱ θύραι, καὶ δέχε-

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ται τελειάσμῳ. πατὴρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μελανοεῖν. ἡ δὲ ἀληθινὴ μελάνοια τὸ μηκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἄρδην ἐκριζῶσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐφ' οἷς ἑαυτῷ κατέγνω θάνατον ἁμαρτήμασι. τούτων γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων, αὖθις εἰς σὲ Θεὸς εἰσοικιοδομήσεται. If any one, either through Ignorance, or unavoidable Misfortunes, after Baptism and Forgiveness of Sins, falls into Sins and Iniquities, so as to be entirely carried away with them; such an one is utterly condemned by God. But whosoever truly turns to God with all his heart, has Heaven Gates opened to him, and the Father most gladly receives his penitent Son. Now a true Repentance, is a Care never to relapse into the same Miscarriages, for which he has condemned himself worthy of Death, but totally to root them out of his Mind. For these being taken away, God will again *dwell* in thee. *This Doctrine of the* moral Shechinah, *or of God's, and Christ's dwelling in righteous Souls, by the Holy Spirit of Grace, is also most clearly expressed by St.* Barnabas *in his Epistle*, cap. 5. p. 33. Behold therefore, *saith he*, we are created anew, as the Prophet speaks in another Place; Behold, saith the Lord, I will take away from them [*that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw under the Gospel,*] Hearts of Stone, and put into them Hearts of Flesh, because he was to be manifested in the Flesh, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν, and to dwell in us. For, my Brethren, κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας, the dwelling Place of our Hearts, is ναὸς ἅγιος τῷ Κυρίῳ,

Κυρίῳ, a holy Temple to the Lord. *And to the ſame purpoſe in another Place*, cap. 16. p. 98. Obſerve how the Temple of the Lord is gloriouſly built, and learn in what manner, we, who have received Remiſſion of our Sins, and put our Truſt in the Name of the Lord, are renovated, or made new, and created again from the Beginning. Becauſe, ἐν τῷ καλοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν, God truly reſides in our *dwelling* Place, that is, in us. *And again*, cap. . p. . Ὁ γὰρ πιθῶν σωθῆναι, βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνοικοῦντα, καὶ λαλοῦντα ἐν αὐτῷ. He that deſires to be ſaved, looks not at the Man, but at him that *dwelleth* in him, and ſpeaketh in him. *And*, cap. . p. . Τοῦτ' ἔστι πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ, this is the Spiritual Temple built to the Lord. *So in the ſecond Epiſt. for its great Antiquity, attributed to St.* Clemens. Δεῖ ἐν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα. It is our Duty to keep the Body, as the Temple of God. *And it is an Allaſion to this Doctrine of the* moral Shechinah, *or Spiritual Temple, that our* Clemens, *in the* 46*th* Page, *ſaith, according to the Doctrine of his Collegue in the Apoſtleſhip*, that no one ſhall be ſaved or periſh, for having a beautiful or deformed Body, but that he ſhall be ſaved who uſeth his Body chaſtly, and according to the Laws of God; but he that hath defiled the Temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy. *So St.* Pacianus, *Biſhop of* Barcelona, *in his* Paciani Paræneſ. ad pœnit. *Ne violaveritis* (inquit) *Templum Domini, quod eſtis*

estis vos, & de fornicatore Apostolus dicit, qui autem Templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus.

How this supernatural Principle of Grace, and the Holy Spirit, the Author of it, was in our first Parents before their Fall, and how they lost it by their Fall, and their sinful Posterity, in and by them, and how we are restored to it by the Gospel, is excellently set forth by the same St. † Pacianus, *in his Sermon to the* Catechumens, *who wrote before the* Pelagian *Controversy troubled the Peace of the Church.* Hearken therefore, my dearly Beloved, in what Death Man lies before Baptism. Surely you know that old Saying, that *Adam* was doom'd to an earthly Original, which Condemnation put him under the Law of eternal Death; and all his Posterity, who were all subject to one Law. This Death reigned over the whole Kind, from *Adam* even to *Moses*. But by *Moses* one People only was chosen, namely, the Seed of *Abraham*, if they could have kept the righteous Commandments. In the mean time we were all held under Sin, that we might be the Fruits of Death, destin'd to feed on

† *Accipite ergo, dulcissimi, homo ante Baptisma in quâ morte sit positus; scitis certè illud antiquum, quod* * *Adam terrenæ origini præstitutus sit, quæ utiq; damnatio legem illi æternæ mortis imposuit & omnibus ab eo posteris, quas lex una retinebat; hæc mors in genus omne dominata est, ab Adam usq; ad Moysen. Per Moysen vero unus tantum Populus electus est, semen scilicet Abrahæ, si mandata Justitiæ servare potuisset. Interea nos omnes sub peccato tenebamur, ut fructus essemus mortis; siliquarum esca & porcorum custodiæ destinati,*

* Clemens Alexand. Lib. Quis divES, &c. p. 129. *Va inquit, illis quia in via Cain abierunt.* Sic

on Husks, and to keep Swine, that is to unclean Works by the evil Angels, who being our Rulers, we neither could do, nor know what was right. The Condition we were in, forced us to obey our natural Lords. And now hear how we were delivered from these Powers, and this Death. *Adam, after he had sinned, as I have told you,* was doomed to death by the Lord, who said, *Earth Thou art, and to Earth Thou shalt return.* This Condemnation descended upon all his Posterity: for [*sinful*] Nature now urging, all Men sinned, *as the Apostle saith; For by one Man Sin enter'd into the World: and Death by Sin: and so Death passed upon all Men, for that all have sinned.* Sin therefore had Dominion over us, and we were dragged in his Chains, as Captives to Death, I mean to Death eternal. But neither was this Sin understood before the Times of the Law, as the Apostle saith;

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nati, i. e. *operibus immundis, per malos Angelos, quibus dominantibus, nec facere licuit, nec scire Justitiam. Parere naturalibus Dominis res ipsa cogebat. Ab his potestatibus, & ab hac morte, qualiter liberati sumus, attendite. Adam postquam peccavit (ut retuli) dicente tunc Domino, Terra es, & in terram ibis, additus est morti. Hæc additio in genus omne defluxit: omnes enim peccaverunt, ipsa jam urgente natura, sicut Apostolus dicit. Quia per unum hominem Peccatum introivit, & per delictum mors, & sic in omnes homines devenit, in quo omnes peccaverunt. Dominatum est ergo peccatum, cujus vinculis quasi captivi trahebamur ad mortem; mortem scilicet, sempiternam. Hoc vero peccatum ante Legis tempora, nec intelligebatur,*

etiam peccato Adæ subjacemus secundum peccati Similitudinem.

for until the Law was given, Sin was not in the World; that is, it was not diſcerned, [*but*] revived when the Law came. It was then manifeſted, that it might be ſeen, but in vain, becauſe almoſt none kept the Law. *For the Law ſaid*, Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, Thou ſhalt do no Murder, Thou ſhalt not covet, yet Concupiſcence, with all the Vices attending it, remained. Thus Sin ſlew Man before the Law with a hidden Sword, under the Law, by a drawn one. What Hope then had Man? Without the Law he periſhed, becauſe he could not ſee Sin, but under the Law, becauſe he ventured upon what he did ſee. ——— And this is the Marriage of the Lord with one Fleſh, that according to that great Myſtery, Two might become one Fleſh, Chriſt and the Church. Of this Marriage the Chriſtian People are born, *the*

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batur, ſicut Apoſtolus dicit, donec enim lex poneretur, peccatum in mundo non habebatur, hoc eſt, non videbatur, ad legis adventum revixit. Apertum eſt enim ut videretur, verum fruſtra, quia id prope nemo ſervabat. Dicebat enim lex, Non Mœchaberis, non Occides, non Concupiſces, tamen Concupiſcentia cum omnibus vitiis permanebat: ita peccatum iſtud ante Legem occulto gladio interfecit hominem, Lege, diſtricto. Quæ igitur ſpes homini? Sine Lege ideo periit, quia peccatum videre non potuit, & in Lege ideo quia in id ipſum, quod videbat, incurrit. ——— *Et hæ ſunt nuptiæ Domini uni Carni conjunctæ, ut ſecundum illud magnum Sacramentum, fierent Duo in carne una Chriſtus, & Eccleſia. Ex his Nuptiis Chriſtiana*

the Spirit of the Lord coming down from above, being poured forth upon the Subſtance of our Souls, *the heavenly Seed* being alſo mixt with it, we grow in the Belly of our Mother, and being delivered from her Womb, are quickned in Chriſt. Whence the Apoſtle ſaith, *The firſt Adam was made a living Soul, the laſt Adam a quickening Spirit.* Thus Chriſt begets in the Church *by his Prieſts, as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith; but I have begotten you in Chriſt. And thus Chriſt's Seed, that is, God's Spirit, furniſhes out the* new Man who was prepared in the Womb of his Mother, and received from the Birth of the Font *by the Hands of the Prieſt*, yet by the Aſſiſtance of Faith. For neither will he ſeem to be admitted into the Church who has not believed, or to be begotten by Chriſt who has not received the Spirit. *We muſt therefore believe that it is poſ-*

Chriſtiana Plebs naſcitur, veniente deſuper Spiritu Dominj, *noſtrarumque animarum ſubſtantiæ ſuperfuſo, & admixto protinus* Semente Cœleſti, *viſceribus Matris moleſcimus*, alvoque ejus effugi vivificamur in Chriſto. *Unde Apoſtolus: primus* ADAM *in* animam viventem, *Noviſſimus* ADAM *in* Spiritum vivificantem. *Sic generat Chriſtus in Eccleſia*, per ſuos Sacerdotes, *ut idem Apoſtolus:* in Chriſto autem ego vos genui. *Atque ita* Chriſti ſemen, *id eſt*, Dei Spiritus, *novum hominem alvo Matris ingeſtum, &* partu Fontis *exceptum* manibus Sacerdotis *effundit, fide tamen pronuba. Neque enim aut inſertus in Eccleſiam videbitur, qui non credidit, aut genitus à Chriſto, qui Spiritum ipſe non*

ſible for us to be born. For ſo ſaid Philip, *If thou believeſt, thou mayſt.* Chriſt is to be received, that he may beget, becauſe the Apoſtle *John* ſaith, *As many as received him, to them gave he Power to become the Sons of God.* But theſe Things cannot be accompliſhed otherwiſe than by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and Chriſm, and the Biſhop. For they are purged from Sin by Baptiſm; by Chriſm the Holy Ghoſt is ſhed upon them, and both theſe we obtain by the Hand and Mouth of the Biſhop. And ſo the new Man is born again, and is renewed in Chriſt.

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non recepit. Credendum eſt igitur poſſe nos naſci. Sic enim ait Philippus, Si credis, potes. *Recipiendus eſt Chriſtus, ut generat, quia Johannes Apoſtolus dicit,* quotquot eum receperunt, dedit illis poteſtatem Filios Dei fieri. *Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, niſi* Lavacri, Chriſmatis, & *Antiſtitis* Sacramento. Lavacro *enim peccata purgantur,* Chriſmate *S. Spiritus ſuperfunditur, utraque vero iſta* manu, & ore Antiſtitis *impetramus. Atque ita totus homo renaſcitur, & renovatur in Chriſto.*

Honoured

Feb. 3. 17$\frac{1}{4}$.

Honoured Sir,

WHAT you see here in the Beginning of this Sheet, is the Passage of St. Pacian *continued from the End of the last. It happened to be preserved in a loose Paper, into which it was transcribed for me out of that Father's Works, and from thence copied over again in the Sheets, which were burnt in the sudden devouring Fire, that by Night consumed, in most dreadful manner, the Printer's Dwelling-House, and Ware-Houses, and all that he had therein. It is no little Trouble to me to think, that I, who ought to deny you nothing, cannot comply with your Desire in repairing what is lost in the burnt Copy. Neither the short time the Bookseller hath taken to publish your most excellent Life of the Bishop, nor my ill Condition of Health will now suffer me to undergo such a Labour, which were I able to endure, I should undertake with mighty Pleasure, to testify thereby the great Desire, and many Obligations I have to serve you, in whose Conversation and Friendship I have been very happy for so many Years. There were too many Particulars in the lost Sheets for me to repair at this time, with the same Pains and Study as I formerly did. If you can but remember the half of them, you will, I am sure, excuse me: Pray, Sir, do but*

recollect upon how many Subjects I was invited to diſcourſe upon this very Citation of St. Pacian, *concerning the Way whereby fallen Man recovers the ſupernatural Principle of the Spirit of God, by which we are regenerated and made* New Men. *If you can remember no more than what from thence I diſcourſed on the Subject of the* moral Shechinah *from the New Teſtament, and the Book of Wiſdom; of receiving the Spirit by the Miniſtration and Prayer of the Prieſt or Biſhop in Baptiſm, and by the Impoſition of the Biſhop's Hands, and by Chriſm, and in diſcourſing of which I gave you my Reaſons, for which I thought it a Rite of the Apoſtolical Age, and wiſhed it reſtored to the Church: If you can alſo call to mind what I was invited to write of the Dignity of the Epiſcopal Office, and Miniſtry, from St.* Pacian's *Words in* * *the Margin, and what I wrote of Repentance, by which we recovered the Spirit again, when we had loſt it by* deadly Sin *after Baptiſm and Confirmation, I hope you will diſcharge me from the Labour of making my Diſcourſes upon them again. And if you can remember what I wrote*

* Sic generat Chriſtus, per ſuos Sacerdotes. Hæc autem alias compleri nequeunt niſi Lavacri, Chriſmatis, & Antiſtitis Sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, Chriſmate S. Spiritus ſuperfunditur, utraque vero iſta manu, & ore Antiſtitis impetramus.

on the fourth or ſecond Apocryphal Book of Eſdras, *upon obſerving how the learned Biſhop paſſed over the Teſtimonies and Authorities of it, both in the incloſed MS. and in his Sermon of the* Middle State; *and alſo can call to Remembrance the moſt clear Teſtimonies I collected from my little Book of* Clemens, *concerning the* Holy and Bleſſed Trinity, *and the* eternal Generation of the Son, begotten not made; *and his Equality in Eſſence with the Father, and of the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, which were not obſerved by the Biſhop, neither in his* Fidei Nicenæ Defenſio, *nor in his Anſwer to* Gilbert Clerke, *nor by* Dr. Grabe *in his Additions to the former Book: I doubt not then, Sir, but you will both in Kindneſs and Juſtice excuſe me from the Pains of recompoſing, and collecting again, being not in a Condition to ſtudy, or bear intenſe Thinking. But were I able to do what you deſire, the Conſideration of ſerving you would make the Pains my greateſt Pleaſure. But under the Diſability I now am, I am ſure, Sir, your Candour and tender Regard for me will oblige you to accept the good Will for the Deed, and the Deſire to ſerve you for the Performance, from*

Your moſt obliged,
and humble Servant,
GEO. HICKES.

LXXXV. *The Sum and Substance of the Fifth Discourse*

The Sum and Substance of the fifth Discourse is, That there was a Covenant of Life made with Man in his State of Innocency, and not as some pretend a Law imposed upon him, established only by a Threatning. For the Prohibition given to *Adam* concerning the not eating of the Tree of Knowledge, is ushered in with this express Donation or Grant of God, that he might freely eat of all the rest of the Trees in *Paradise*, the Tree of Life not excepted. Now it is certain, the Tree of Life was so called, because it was either a Sacrament and divine Sign, or else a natural Means of Immortality. And the very Commination itself, *in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*, manifestly implies a Promise; this Consequence being most firm, God threateneth Death to Man, if he eat of the forbidden Fruit; therefore, he promiseth Life if he do not eat. A full state and resolution of this Matter, is given by our Author from *Grotius* in his approved Book, *de Satisfactione*, &c. The Foundation being thus laid in the Proof that *Adam* should never have died, if he had not sinned, and that if he had continued obedient, he should have enjoyed an everlasting Life; he thinks it easy to collect from thence, that this Life should not, nay could not in any congruity be perpetuated in the earthly *Paradise*, and that there-

therefore the Man was in the Deſign of God, after a certain period of Time, to have been tranſlated to a higher State, that is, a celeſtial Bliſs; and that it farther readily follows, that Man being thus deſigned for ſuch a ſupernatural End, muſt be ſuppoſed gradually at leaſt, to have been furniſhed by God with Means proportioned thereunto, which were certain ſupernatural Gifts and Powers which we commonly call *original Righteouſneſs*. The Senſe of the Church of God upon this Subject, he reduceth to two Propoſitions, which, he ſays, were conſtantly aſſerted and believed by the Primitive Fathers.

I. "That *Paradiſe* was to *Adam* a Type "of Heaven; and that the never-ending "Life of Happineſs promiſed to our firſt "Parents, if they had continued obedient, "and grown up to perfection under that OE-"conomy wherein they were placed, ſhould "not have continued in the earthly *Paradiſe*, "but only have commenced there, and been "perpetuated in a higher State; that is to "ſay, after ſuch a Tryal of their Obedience, "as ſhould ſeem ſufficient to the divine Wiſ-"dom, they ſhould have been tranſlated "from Earth to Heaven.

II. "That our firſt Parents, beſides the "Seeds of *natural Vertue* and Religion ſown "in their Minds, in their very Creation; "and beſides the natural Innocence and Re-

"ctitude,

" titude, wherein alſo they were created, " were endowed with certain Gifts and " *Powers ſupernatural*, infuſed by the Spirit " of God, and that in theſe Gifts their Per- " fection conſiſted.

Now becauſe theſe two Hypotheſes ſeemed to him the two main Pillars of the Catholick Doctrine concerning original Sin, he giveth an ample Demonſtration of them out of the Writings of the Ancients.

The firſt Hypotheſis is confirmed by the Teſtimonies of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tatian*, *Irenæus*, *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Methodius*, St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Baſil*, all which Authors lived before the Riſe of *Pelagianiſm*, which makes their Teſtimonies the more conſiderable. Nay, the ancient primitive Church was ſo certain of this Truth, that ſhe inſerted the Article into her publick Offices and Prayers, as appeareth from the Prayer of Conſecration of the Euchariſt, in the Liturgy of *Clemens*, in theſe Words concerning *Adam*; * *When thou broughteſt him into the Paradiſe of Pleaſure, thou gaveſt him free Leave to eat of all the other Trees, and forbaddeſt him to taſte of one only* FOR THE HOPE OF BETTER THINGS; *that if he*

* Conſt. Apoſt. lib. 8. cap. 12.

kept

kept the Commandments, he might receive IMMORTALITY, *as the Reward of his Obedience.* This Liturgy is the moſt ancient now extant, and certainly older than the *Pelagian* Hereſy by one whole Age at leaſt. It is confeſſed, that the Doctors of the Church, who flouriſhed after the *Pelagian* Hereſy was broached, all maintained the ſame Hypotheſis; yet for fuller ſatisfaction, Teſtimonies are produced from St. *Auſtin*, *Proſper*, *Fulgentius*, and *Petrus Diaconus*, who are known to have been the chiefeſt Antagoniſts of *Pelagius*. Theſe Allegations are brought forth, not only upon the account of their Authority, but for the ſake of thoſe evident Reaſons, which thoſe ancient Writers urged for the demonſtration of the Point aſſerted.

The Second Hypotheſis he advanceth as a conſequent of the former, for the Means ought to be proportioned and ſuited to the End. If therefore our Firſt Parents had been deſigned only for an earthly Felicity, a ſupernatural Gift would have been uſeleſs, or at leaſt unneceſſary to them; and ſo on the contrary, if they were deſigned for a celeſtial Bliſs, it neceſſarily followeth, that they were furniſhed with Powers ſuited to the obtaining of ſuch a ſupernatural End. But becauſe this latter Hypotheſis is chiefly queſtioned by learned Men, he proveth this Aſſertion from the Writings of the Ancients,

and

and that ſomewhat more copiouſly than he had done the former. The Teſtimonies he uſeth to this purpoſe, are thoſe of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tatian*, *Irenæus*, the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, the Author of the Five Dialogues among the Works of *Athanaſius*, St. *Athanaſius* himſelf, the Great *Baſil*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Hierom*, St. *Auſtin*, *Proſper*, and, laſtly, *Fulgentius*. After this, he fully anſwers an Objection made by the *Socinians*, in order to weaken the Credit and Authority of theſe Teſtimonies; for they placing the Likeneſs and Image of God, after which the firſt Man is ſaid to be created, only in his Dominion over the other Creatures in this viſible World; they endeavour effectually to deſtroy that Notion of God's Image, which runs through all the Teſtimonies that are produced, and which thoſe Fathers made to conſiſt, eſpecially in thoſe ſupernatural Powers, Gifts or Graces, wherewith they ſuppoſe him to be furniſhed in his Creation. And that theſe ſupernatural Perfections were a chief Part of the Image of God, after which the firſt Man is ſaid to be created, is not the Fancy of Chriſtian Writers, but was a Notion received and acknowledged in the *Jewiſh* Church, many Years before our Saviour's Appearance in the Fleſh; as is manifeſt from the Author of the Book of Wiſdom,

dom,

dom, and from *Philo* the *Jew*, who bordered upon the very Age of our Saviour's Incarnation. Though if we ſhould lay aſide that Reverence which is due to ſo conſentient a Judgment of the Church of God both before and after Chriſt, yet the Apoſtle St. *Paul* hath Evidence ſufficient, if well conſidered, to ſet us right in this Point.

Moreover farther, he anſwereth an Objection made by *Grotius*, againſt this Doctrine of the Primitive Fathers; and in vindication of them, he propoſes himſelf ſome Arguments taken from the Hiſtory of the Primitive State of the firſt Man, as it is delivered by *Moſes* himſelf, which, if not demonſtrative, are yet far more conſiderable, than any thing that hath been produced in defence of the contrary novel Opinion. He then proceeds to ſhew the great Uſe of this Doctrine in three conſiderable Inſtances, *viz. Firſt*, In determining the Nature of that original Righteouſneſs, which was the happy Portion of the *Protoplaſt*. *Secondly*, In evincing the abſolute Neceſſity of Divine Grace in Man fallen, in order to the performance of that Righteouſneſs which is required unto his Salvation. *Thirdly*, In aſſuring us how unjuſt that Charge is which ſome bold Men have faſtned on all the Chriſtian Writers before *Pelagius*, eſpecially on thoſe who flouriſhed within the three firſt Centuries; namely,

ly, that they held the ſame Doctrine which was afterwards condemned by the Church as heretical in *Pelagius*, aſſerting a Sufficiency of Man's natural Powers in his lapſed Eſtate, without the Grace of God to perform thoſe things, which conduce to eternal Life: And with theſe three Uſes our Author concludeth this excellent Treatiſe.

The Concluſion of the whole.

I have nothing more to add but my earneſt Prayers to God, that ſince he hath by his Grace enabled me to bring this Work to a Concluſion, he would farther vouchſafe by his Bleſſing, to make it inſtrumental towards the promoting his Honour and Glory in the World. That it may in ſome meaſure tend to revive that truly commendable Zeal, for which the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity were ſo deſervedly famous; "When they that were "baptized, continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apo- "ſtles Doctrine, and Fellowſhip, in break- "ing of Bread, and in Prayer; Praiſing "God, and doing Good to all Men.

TO THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, GOD THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, BE ASCRIBED ALL HONOUR AND GLORY, ADORATION AND WORSHIP, BOTH NOW AND FOR EVER. *AMEN.*

December 31, 1712.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

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